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J. S.

H. O.

W. C.



R. Hon.  
Sir John C. Hobhouse, Bt.

2699. e. 175

John Cam. Hobbins. AD  
Trin. Coll. Camb.









THE  
WORKS  
OF

Samuel Johnson, LL. D.

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IN FIFTEEN VOLUMES.

VOL. XV.

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L O N D O N :

PRINTED FOR ELLIOT AND KAY, N<sup>o</sup> 332. STRAND,  
AND C. ELLIOT, EDINBURGH.

M,DCC,LXXXIX.

1947-1948  
1949-1950  
1951-1952

A  
VOYAGE TO ABYSSINIA,

BY FATHER JEROME LOBO,  
*A PORTUGUESE MISSIONARY.*

CONTAINING THE  
HISTORY, NATURAL, CIVIL, AND ECCLESIASTICAL,  
OF THAT REMOTE AND UNFREQUENTED COUNTRY,

Continued down to the beginning of the *Eighteenth Century* :

WITH  
FIFTEEN DISSERTATIONS  
On various SUBJECTS,

RELATING TO THE ANTIQUITIES, GOVERNMENT, RELIGION,  
MANNERS, AND NATURAL HISTORY, OF ABYSSINIA.

BY M. LE GRAND.

---

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH BY  
Samuel Johnson, LL. D.

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TO WHICH ARE ADDED,  
VARIOUS OTHER TRACTS  
BY THE SAME AUTHOR,

Not Published by Sir JOHN HAWKINS or Mr STOCKDALE.

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L O N D O N:  
PRINTED FOR ELLIOT AND KAY, N° 332. STRAND,  
AND C. ELLIOT, EDINBURGH.

M,DCC,LXXXIX.



TO  
ARTHUR MURPHY, Esq.

THIS VOLUME OF THE WORKS  
OF HIS LATE GREAT AND LEARNED FRIEND,  
IS INSCRIBED

BY ONE WHO JOINS IN THE GENERAL REGRET  
THAT HE WAS NOT THE BIOGRAPHER OF

DR JOHNSON:

BECAUSE, THOUGH UNKNOWN TO MR MURPHY,

HE ADMIRES HIS ABILITIES ; AND IS,

WITH GREAT SINCERITY,

HIS RESPECTFUL

HUMBLE SERVANT,

GEORGE GLEIG.

STIRLING, }  
Dec. 1. 1788. }





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## GENERAL PREFACE.

**A**S a critic, a moralist, and an elegant writer, Dr JOHNSON stood so high in the ranks of learning, that a complete edition of his works would undoubtedly be acceptable to every lover of letters and of virtue. Such an edition the public expected, when one of his oldest and most intimate friends undertook to be the *guardian of his fame*, as well as *an executor of his will*. It is needless to add that the general expectation has been frustrated.

FOR discharging the duties of an *executor*, SIR JOHN HAWKINS is probably well qualified: but he seems not even to *know* what belongs to the office of him who undertakes to be the *guardian of a man's fame*; and for his exertions in that capacity he has incurred much censure, and is certainly intitled to no praise. As a *biographer*, his reflections are often unjust and generally malevolent; as an *editor*, his mistakes are numerous; as a *critic*, his taste is deplorable; as a *writer*, his style is tedious and perplexed; and in the character of a *magistrate*, in which he appears on all occasions, his vanity and egotism are in a high degree disgusting\*.

THAT

\* For a just estimate of Sir John's merits in the various capacities of a *biographer*, an *egotist*, a *relater of facts*, a *book-maker*, a *politician*, a *moralist*, a *critic*, and an *editor*, the *Monthly Review* for July 1787 may

THAT such a man, if resolved not to publish the *whole* of his author's works, should have made an injudicious selection, and a preposterous arrangement of those which he *chose* to publish, can excite no wonder. But it is surely surprising, that the musical knight, who, though destitute of taste, must be supposed to have an *ear*, could for a moment imagine, that the *Apotheosis of Milton* was written by JOHNSON; or that in his collection of the Works of that nervous and elegant writer, he should have inserted things which, by a total want of

5

may be consulted. What is there said of his critical talents is so excellent, that the reader will not be ill pleased to find it here. — “Can it be expected (says the masterly writer of that article), that he whose reading is confined to old homilies and the statute-book, should have a true relish for the beauties of composition? He ventures, notwithstanding, to talk of propriety and elegance of language. He thinks that JOHNSON owed the excellencies of his style to the divines and others of the last century, such as *Hooker, Sanderson, Taylor, and Sir Thomas Browne*. He would therefore have us write at this day as if we lived above a century and a half ago. He adds, that JOHNSON admired *Cowley* for the ease and unaffected structure of his periods. If he did, it is wonderful that he deviated so widely from that elegant model. COWLEY is at the head of those who cultivated an easy, clear, and natural style. *Dryden, Tillotson, and Sir William Temple* followed: *Addison, Swift, Pope* (we include the writers of the *Spectator*), completed the work. Of *Addison*, Johnson used to say, *he is the Raphael of essay-writers*. Sir John is of a different opinion: Addison he thinks deserving of praise, if we make *his cold and languid periods* the test of elegant composition. Our critic loves the antiquated phrase of the state-papers in the *Cabala*, and the precatory eloquence of former ages. The characteristics of Addison, he says, are *feebleness and inanity*, though his *sentiments* are *excellent*, and his *humour exquisite*. What does Sir John mean? Where there are sentiment and humour, can there be *inanity*? He allows with Johnson, that his prose *is the model of the middle style*. The misfortune is, he thinks the *middle style* and a *middling style* synonymous terms. He does not know, that by the ablest critics style has been

of harmony in the cadence of their periods, appear evidently to be the productions of an inferior pen, whilst he has omitted others that are undoubtedly genuine, and at the same time of higher importance.

His omissions have, in a great measure, been supplied by Mr STOCKDALE; to whom the public is under considerable obligations for the pleasure of perusing the famous *debates in Parliament*, as well as various other tracts equally elegant and interesting contained in what he calls the *twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth* volumes of the Works of Dr JOHNSON. But neither is Mr STOCKDALE quite free from mistakes, nor his last volume wholly genuine. *The Memoirs of Dr BERKELEY*

BISHOP

been distinguished into three modes, the *sublime*, the *simple*, and the *florid* or *mixed*; and that the last, holding often the qualities of the two others, is called the *middle style*. Because the last is ascribed to Addison, the knight concludes that Johnson meant to call him a *Mediocrist*. The fact is, Johnson had taste enough to relish Addison, though he did not copy him. It may be true that Johnson took an early tincture from the writers of the last century, particularly from *Sir Thomas Browne*. Hence the peculiarities of his style, new combinations, sentences of an unusual form, and words derived from the learned languages. He did not remember the observation of *Dryden*: *If too many foreign words are poured in upon us, it looks as if they were designed not to assist the natives, but to conquer them*. It is remarkable that the life of *Savage* is written with ease. The pomp of diction was assumed in the *Rambler*, and seems to be discarded by Johnson in his latter productions. Sir John most probably acquired his notions of language at his master's desk: he admired the phraseology of deeds and parchments; *whereof*, to speak in his own manner, he read so much, that in consequence *thereof* he has been chiefly conversant *therein*; and by the help of the parchments *aforesaid*, he has not much improved *thereby*, but has entirely missed the elegance *above mentioned*, and uses words, that *in them* we sometimes meet with; and, being bred an attorney, he caught the language of *the said trade*, *whereof* he retains so much, that he is now rendered an incompetent critic *thereby*, and in consequence *thereof*."

## \* GENERAL PREFACE.

BISHOP of CLOYNE, and *the preface to KENNEDY's Scripture Chronology*, were certainly not written by the author of the Rambler. In opposition to the clearest *internal* evidence, that *preface* is ascribed to him on the authority of Sir JOHN HAWKINS: but the knight only says, that "he ushered the Chronology into the world;" and Mr KENNEDY's son, the present rector of *Langley in Kent*, affirms, that his father was indebted to JOHNSON for none of the appendages of his learned Work but the *Dedication*; which indeed proclaims its author in every sentence.

By whom *the Memoirs of BISHOP BERKELEY* were written is unknown to the present Editor: but he is authorised by the son of that celebrated prelate to declare, that, short as those memoirs are, they contain much falsehood and very little truth; that many years after they were first published, Dr JOHNSON asked from him materials for the life of his father; that those materials were then refused; and that, in consequence of the refusal, the intended life was never written\*.

FOR

\* Suspecting that *the Memoirs of Bishop Berkeley* were not written by Johnson, but unwilling to advance any thing upon the slippery ground of internal evidence, the Editor applied for information to the prelate's son, who writes as follows:

" My dear Sir,

*Cookham, Berks, 19th Nov. 1788.*

" Your letter having lain at my house in town, it reached me only this morning: and I delay not a day to inform you, that the wonderfully absurd thing in Stockdale's fourteenth volume, called *Memoirs of Bishop Berkeley*, was not written by Dr Johnson. That great man had a wish to be my father's biographer; but when applied to long after these memoirs had made their first appearance, I declined to furnish him with materials for the purpose. You may be sure I had some cogent reason for acting thus: it was as follows. At the chambers of the wor-

thy

FOR these, as well as his own mistakes, Sir JOHN HAWKINS alone is answerable. Had not he thrust himself into an office which he is so little qualified to fill, and

thy master of University College, I had spent an evening with JOHNSON, the present DEAN of CANTERBURY, Dr VANSITTART, and Sir ROBERT CHAMBERS. JOHNSON brought upon the carpet the subject of my father's plan for erecting *St Paul's College* on the island of *Bermuda*; and lamented, in his grandiloquous style, that so pious and beneficent a design had not been concerted with more prudence. "For (said he) had not a corrupt administration defeated the bishop's design, it must in a short time have defeated itself. The *fellows* of *St Paul's College* would soon have degenerated into *farmers* or *merchants*; the love of money would have proved too strong for the love of learning." Young as I was, and prepossessed with the highest veneration for Johnson, to whom I had just been introduced for the first time, I instantly threw behind me every consideration, which regarded not truth and my father's fair fame, —and asked my antagonist, Whether he had ever read BISHOP BERKELEY's proposal for founding that American university? and whether he was accurately acquainted with the extent, produce, and situation of *Bermuda*? To the *former* part of my question he replied in the negative; to the latter he answered nothing. On this I admonished him to be in future less ready to censure venerable characters, or to impute his own *nescience* to others as *imprudence*; for that had he read the pamphlet published thrice on this subject, he must have seen the bishop's consummate wisdom guarding against every inconvenience which commerce or agriculture might occasion. Farmers the *fellows* could hardly have become, as their estates were all of them to be purchased on the continent of *North America*, at the distance of a week's voyage; and the island of *Bermuda*, blessed as it may be with a fine climate, is so begirt with rocks, and its harbours so ill calculated for shipping, that it could never be the seat of such commerce as to call the minds of tutors from nobler pursuits. Johnson was surprised and silenced; and on my leaving the room, being asked why he so rudely attacked my father's scheme? he replied, *I thought the young man might be vain, as well he may, of such a father; and so I resolv'd to keep him humble by discussing the plan in that manner.* When Mr Alien, late vice-principal of *Magdalene-hall*, Oxford, applied to me for materials to enable his friend

and claimed it by an engagement \* so sacred as to keep others at a distance, there would surely have been found among JOHNSON'S friends *some guardian of his fame* equal to the task of doing justice to his character, and giving to the public a correct edition of his Works; and we should not, to day, have been ascribing to him what was written by another, or complaining, that of the most elegant and judicious biographer that has appeared since PLUTARCH, the only complete account, which is yet extant, is such a performance as no man can read twice.

THAT the tracts, which are now offered to the public, are the genuine offspring of JOHNSON'S pen, may be evinced by evidence which cannot be resisted. The  
trans-

friend Johnson to write the life of a man who did honour to human nature, I gave this relation of that rough conversation as my reason for declining to comply with his request. I have often wished that I had acted otherwise, as Johnson, in the progress of his biography, might have been led to examine, and give a fair view of some of my father's works, which I am persuaded he never read, and which have been strangely misrepresented by many who have read them, especially among your countrymen. My grandfather Berkeley was no clergyman; nor is there any truth in that strange anecdote of my father when at college, and which I remember to have read in these fictitious memoirs when first published. As you say you are to send your miscellany to the press by the end of next week, I write to you *currente calamo*; and you may make what use you list of the intelligence now sent you by,

Dear Sir,

Your affectionate and obedient Servant,

GEO. BERKELEY."

\* The knight says, "that he stood engaged by a promise made to Johnson a short time before his decease, to be as well the *guardian of his fame*, as an executor of his will"

translation of *Lobo's Voyage to Abyssinia* he frequently claimed as his own ; and his claim has never been controverted. The two letters, together with the *Nugæ Anapesticæ*, were received from the family of Dr LAURENCE. And the several reviews, with the dedication of *the Evangelical History harmonized*, are ascribed to him by a lady to whom he was long known, whose mind he successfully cultivated, and whose name, were it mentioned, would remove every suspicion. Indeed the author of these elegant tracts cannot be mistaken : in every sentence they exhibit JOHNSON'S style and manner of thinking ; and in two of the Reviews will be found the precise sentiments, clothed in almost the very language which he has elsewhere used, when speaking of the genius of POPE and the piety of WATTS. The only thing in the volume of which the editor entertains any doubt, is the translation of *the Table of Cebes*. Common report gives it to JOHNSON. The learned writers of *the Monthly Review*, who appear to be intimately acquainted with his labours, as well as just to his merits, acquiesce in that report : and it is a performance of which no man would have cause to be ashamed. If it be *his*, it ought to have a place among his Works : if it be the production of another pen, it will be rejected from that complete and regular edition of those works, which will surely be published as soon as the odd volumes shall be disposed of, which are now in circulation ; and at all events, it is *a picture of human life and manners* which deserves to be universally known, and which no good man will be sorry to find in the present miscellany.

SINCE Sir JOHN HAWKINS has deemed several reviews of books, which were written for periodical publications, not unworthy of a place in his collection of  
the

## 8      GENERAL PREFACE.

the Works of JOHNSON, it is not easy to conceive why these were omitted to which the present Editor ventures to solicit the attention of the public. Compared with the critical essays in the *Rambler*, or with *the Lives of the British Poets*, they are not perhaps intitled to the highest praise : but the review of *the Essay on the Writings and Genius of Pope*, is surely more entertaining than that of Sir ISAAC NEWTON's letters to Dr BENTLEY; and the account of *the History of Aleppo* more useful than the severe remarks on *the Memoirs of the Court of Augustus*.

Of these papers, however, the omission is comparatively of no great consequence. But could wonder be excited by any thing which Sir JOHN, as an editor, has either done or omitted to do, it would be by his neglecting to republish the translation of *the Voyage to Abyssinia*. That work is now very little known; and yet to every lover of letters it must surely be interesting, if, for no other reason, than that it was the first effort of an author, who, "amidst inconvenience and distraction, in sickness and in sorrow," rose by the innate vigour of his mind to the highest pitch of literary eminence.

THE knight, indeed, says, that "were we to rest our judgment on internal evidence, JOHNSON's claim to the title of translator of this work would be disputable; it has scarce a feature resembling him: the language is as simple and unornamented as JOHN BUNYAN's: the style is far from elegant, and sometimes it is not even correct." Should the reader from this imagine, that it was tenderness to his friend's reputation which prevented *the guardian of JOHNSON's fame* from republishing *the Voyage to Abyssinia*, let him peruse, as an exercise



rife of patience, *the life* \* of that eminent writer; which *the executor of his will* has prefixed to his works; and all *such* imaginations will vanish from his mind.

THE language of the translation, like that of the original, is indeed simple and unornamented; but it is no otherwise incorrect than through the blunders of the printer, which, though uncommonly numerous, might surely have been distinguished from the unskilfulness of the writer by that *penetrating* judgment which has discovered ADDISON to have been a writer of *inanity*, SWIFT to have been totally *illiterate*, and JOHNSON himself to have been an *incompetent critic*.

BUT had the language been ever so incorrect; had the style been as inelegant as that of the most prolix and rambling biographer; still the *subject* of the volume should have rescued it from oblivion: for though, concerning Abyssinia, much curiosity has of late been excited, nothing has yet been done by which it may be gratified. The public, indeed, has reason to expect soon a full account of that country from the pen of the celebrated traveller Mr BRUCE; but the price at which a work, so elegant and extensive as his, can be afforded, must be too high for many readers, who may yet wish to know something of a people, whose *manners, customs, religion, and government*, will probably, for a time, furnish the topics of conversation: and this knowledge may be obtained from Father LOBO and M. LE GRAND; whose English dress, it is hoped, will be found

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free

\* A juvenile and lively writer has, with great propriety, termed that wonderful performance a *comprehensive libel*. It is indeed comprehensive: for it contains anecdotes and characters of a number of persons totally unconnected with Johnson; and every character is an awkward lampoon.—See the *Siege of Rhodes*, edit. 2d.

free from many of the faults by which it was formerly disgraced.

To conclude: The Editor of the volume, which is now respectfully offered to the public, is persuaded, that, by rescuing from oblivion the various tracts of which it is composed, he affords his contemporaries an opportunity of acquiring both harmless amusement and useful information; and that he does no injury to the fame of Dr JOHNSON, of whom, in the character of a *moralist*, a *biographer*, a *critic*, and a *poet*, it may with truth be said

——*Pectus præceptis format amicis*  
*Asperitatis et invidiæ corrector et iræ:*  
*Recté facta refert; orientia tempora notis*  
*Instruit exemplis; inopem solatur et ægrum.*

Dr

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# DR JOHNSON'S PREFACE

TO

FATHER LOBO'S VOYAGE, &c.

**T**HE following relation is so curious and entertaining, and the dissertations that accompany it so judicious and instructive, that the translator is confident his attempt stands in need of no apology, whatever censure may fall on the performance.

THE Portuguese traveller, contrary to the general vein of his countrymen, has amused his reader with no romantic absurdities or incredible fictions: whatever he relates, whether true or not, is at least probable; and he who tells nothing exceeding the bounds of probability, has a right to demand, that they should believe him who cannot contradict him.

He appears, by his modest and unaffected narration, to have described things as he saw them; to have copied nature from the life; and to have consulted his senses not his imagination. He meets with no basilisks that destroy with their eyes; his crocodiles devour their prey without tears; and his cataracts fall from the rock without deafening the neighbouring inhabitants.

THE reader will here find no regions cursed with irremediable barrenness, or blessed with spontaneous fecundity;

cundity; no perpetual gloom or unceasing sunshine: nor are the nations here described either void of all sense of humanity, or consummate in all private and social virtues: here are no Hottentots without religion, polity, or articulate language; no Chinese perfectly polite, and completely skilled in all sciences: He will discover, what will always be discovered by a diligent and impartial enquirer, that wherever human nature is to be found, there is a mixture of vice and virtue, a contest of passion and reason; and that the Creator doth not appear partial in his distributions, but has balanced in most countries their particular inconveniences by particular favours.

IN his account of the mission, where his veracity is most to be suspected, he neither exaggerates overmuch the merits of the Jesuits, if we consider the partial regard paid by the Portuguese to their countrymen, by the Jesuits to their society, and by the Papists to their church, nor aggravates the vices of the Abyssins: but if the reader will not be satisfied with a popish account of a popish mission, he may have recourse to the history of the church of Abyssinia, written by Dr Geddes, in which he will find the actions and sufferings of the missionaries placed in a different light, though the same in which Mr Le Grand, with all his zeal for the Roman church, appears to have seen them.

THIS learned dissertator, however valuable for his industry and erudition, is yet more to be esteemed for having dared so freely, in the midst of France, to declare his disapprobation of the patriarch Oviedo's sanguinary zeal, who was continually importuning the Portuguese to beat up their drums for missionaries, who might preach the gospel with swords in their hands, and propagate

pagate by desolation and slaughter the true worship of the God of peace.

It is not easy to forbear reflecting with how little reason these men profess themselves the followers of Jesus, who left this great characteristic to his disciples, that they should be known by loving one another, by universal and unbounded charity and benevolence.

LET us suppose an inhabitant of some remote and superior region, yet unskilled in the ways of men, having read and considered the precepts of the gospel, and the example of our Saviour, to come down in search of the true church: If he would not enquire after it among the cruel, the insolent, and the oppressive; among those who are continually grasping at dominion over souls as well as bodies; among those who are employed in procuring to themselves impunity for the most enormous villanies, and studying methods of destroying their fellow-creatures, not for their crimes but their errors: If he would not expect to meet benevolence engaged in massacres, or to find mercy in a court of inquisition,—he would not look for the true church in the church of Rome.

Mr Le Grand has given in one dissertation an example of great moderation, in deviating from the temper of his religion; but in the others has left proofs, that learning and honesty are often too weak to oppose prejudice. He has made no scruple of preferring the testimony of father du Bernat to the writings of all the Portuguese jesuits, to whom he allows great zeal, but little learning, without giving any other reason than that his favourite was a Frenchman. This is writing only to Frenchmen and to papists: A protestant would be desirous to know why he must imagine that father du Bernat had a cooler head or more knowledge; and

why one man, whose account is singular, is not more likely to be mistaken than many agreeing in the same account.

If the Portuguese were biased by any particular views, another bias, equally powerful, may have deflected the Frenchman from the truth; for they evidently write with contrary designs: the Portuguese, to make their mission seem more necessary, endeavoured to place in the strongest light the differences between the Abyssinian and Roman church; but the great Ludolfus laying hold on the advantage, reduced these latter writers to prove their conformity.

UPON the whole, the controversy seems of no great importance to those who believe the holy scriptures sufficient to teach the way of salvation; but of whatever moment it may be thought, there are not proofs sufficient to decide it.

HIS discourses on indifferent subjects will divert as well as instruct: and if either in these or in the relation of father Lobo, any argument shall appear unconvincing, or description obscure, they are defects incident to all mankind; which, however, are not too rashly to be imputed to the authors, being sometimes, perhaps, more justly chargeable on the translator.

IN this translation (if it may be so called) great liberties have been taken, which, whether justifiable or not, shall be fairly confessed; and let the judicious part of mankind pardon or condemn them.

IN the first part the greatest freedom has been used in reducing the narration into a narrow compass; so that it is by no means a translation but an epitome; in which whether every thing either useful or entertaining be comprised, the compiler is least qualified to determine.

IN the account of Abyssinia, and the continuation,  
the

the authors have been followed with more exactness ; and as few passages appeared either insignificant or tedious, few have been either shortened or omitted.

THE dissertations are the only part in which an exact translation has been attempted ; and even in those, abstracts are sometimes given instead of literal quotations, particularly in the first ; and sometimes other parts have been contracted.

SEVERAL memorials and letters, which are printed at the end of the dissertations to secure the credit of the foregoing narrative, are entirely left out.

It is hoped, that after this confession, whoever shall compare this attempt with the original, if he shall find no proofs of fraud or partiality, will candidly overlook any failure of judgment.





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C H A P. I.

*The Author arrives after some difficulties at Goa. Is chosen for the Mission of Ethiopia. The fate of those Jesuits who went by Zeila. The Author arrives at the coast of Melinda.*

**I** EMBARKED in March 1622; in the same fleet with the Count Vidigueira, on whom the king had conferred the viceroy-ship of the Indies, then vacant by the resignation of Alfonso Noronha, whose unsuccessful voyage in the foregoing year had been the occasion of the loss of Ormus\*; which, being by the miscarriage of that fleet  
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\* Ormus, an island of great wealth and commodiousness in the Persian Gulf, since retaken by the Portuguese in 1729.

deprived of the succours necessary for its defence, was taken by the Persians and English. The beginning of this voyage was very prosperous : We were neither annoyed with the diseases of the climate, nor distressed with bad weather, till we doubled the Cape of Good Hope, which was about the end of May. Here began our misfortunes ; these coasts are remarkable for the many shipwrecks the Portuguese have suffered. The sea is for the most part rough, and the winds tempestuous. We had here our rigging somewhat damaged by a storm of lightning, which when we had repaired, we sailed forward to Mosambique †, where we were to stay some time. When we came near that coast, and began to rejoice at the prospect of ease and refreshment, we were, on the sudden, alarmed with the sight of a squadron of ships, of what nation we could not at first distinguish, but soon discovered that they were three English and three Dutch, and were preparing to attack us. I shall not trouble the reader with the particulars of this fight, in which, though the English commander ran himself aground, we lost three of our ships, and with great difficulty escaped with the rest into the port of Mosambique.

This place was able to afford us little consolation in our uneasy circumstances : the arrival of our company almost caused a scarcity of provisions. The heat in the day is intolerable, and the dews in the night so unwholesome, that it is almost certain death to go out with one's head uncovered. Nothing can be a stronger proof of the malignant quality of the air, than that the rust will immediately corrode both the iron and brass, if they are not.

† Mosambique, a city of Zanzibar, on the coast of Africa, in an island near the Continent, at the mouth of a river of the same name, which there falls into the Ethiopic sea.

not carefully covered with straw. We staid, however, in this place from the latter end of July to the beginning of September; when, having provided ourselves with other vessels, we set out for Cochim \*, and landed there after a very hazardous and difficult passage; made so partly by the currents and storms which separated us from each other, and partly by continual apprehensions of the English and Dutch, who were cruising for us in the Indian seas. Here the viceroy and his company were received with so much ceremony, as was rather troublesome than pleasing to us who were fatigued with the labours of the passage; and having staid here some time, that the gentlemen who attended the viceroy to Goa †, might fit out their vessels, we set sail; and after having been detained some time at sea, by calms and contrary winds, and somewhat harassed by the English and Dutch, who were now increased to eleven ships of war, arrived at Goa on Saturday the 16th of December, and the viceroy made his entry with great magnificence.

I lived here above a year, and completed my studies in divinity; in which time some letters were received from the fathers in Ethiopia, with an account that Sultan Segued, emperor of Abyssinia, was converted to the Church of Rome; that many of his subjects had followed his example; and that there was a great want of missionaries to improve these prosperous beginnings. Every body was very desirous of seconding the zeal of our

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fathers,

\* A city of Asia, in the East Indies, in the Promontory of Malabar, a bishopric under the archbishop of Goa, built by the Portuguese in 1503.

† Goa, a city of Asia, in the kingdom of Decan, in the Peninsula on this side the Indus, in a small island towards the mouth of the river Mandova, on the shores of the Promontory of Cunean, on the west shore of the Cape of Malabar.

fathers, and of sending them the assistance they requested; to which we were the more encouraged, because the emperor's letters informed our provincial, that we might easily enter his dominions by the way of Dancala\*; but unhappily the secretary wrote Zeila† for Dancala, which cost two of our fathers their lives.

We were, however, notwithstanding the assurances given us by the emperor, sufficiently apprised of the danger which we were exposed to in this expedition, whether we went by sea or land. By sea, we foresaw the hazard we run of falling into the hands of the Turks, amongst whom we should lose, if not our lives, at least our liberty, and be for ever prevented from reaching the court of Ethiopia. Upon this consideration, our superiors divided the eight Jesuits chosen for this mission into two companies. Four they sent by sea, and four by land; I was of the latter number. The four first were the more fortunate, who, though they were detained some time by the Turkish Bassa, were dismissed at the request of the emperor, who sent him a Zeura, or wild-ass, a creature of large size, and admirable beauty.

As for us who were to go by Zeila, we had still greater difficulties to struggle with: We were entirely strangers to the ways we were to take, to the manners, and even to the names of the nations through which we were to pass. Our chief desire was to discover some new road by which we might avoid having any thing to do with the Turks. Among great numbers whom  
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\* Dancala, a city of Afric in the upper Ethiopia, upon the river Nile in the tract of Nubia, of which it is the capital.

† Zeila, a city in the kingdom of Adel in Afric, at the mouth of the Red sea, upon the outlet of a river of the same name over against Adel.



endeavoured by large offers to obtain their liberty, but his kind offices had no other effect than to heighten the rage of the king of Zeila. This prince, besides his ill-will to Sultan Segued, which was kept up by some malcontents among the Abyssin nobility, who, provoked at the conversion of their master, were plotting a revolt, entertained an inveterate hatred against the Portuguese for the death of his grandfather, who had been killed many years before, which he swore the blood of the Jesuits should repay. So after they had languished for some time in prison, their heads were struck off. A fate which had been likewise our own, had not God reserved us for longer labours !

Having provided every thing necessary for our journey, such as Arabian habits, and red caps, callieoes, and other trifles to make presents of to the inhabitants, and taking leave of our friends, as men going to a speedy death ; for we were not insensible of the dangers we were likely to encounter, amongst horrid deserts, impassable mountains, and barbarous nations ; we left Goa, on the 26th day of January, in the year 1624, in a Portuguese galliot that was ordered to set us ashore at Paté \*, where we landed, without any disaster, in eleven days, together with a young Abyssin, whom we made use of as our interpreter. While we stayed here, we were given to understand, that those who had been pleased at Goa to give us directions in relation to our journey, had done nothing but told us lies ; that the people were savage ; that they had indeed begun to treat with the Portuguese, but it was only from fear ; that otherwise they were a barbarous nation, who, finding themselves too much crowded in their own country, had extended themselves to the sea-shore ; that they ravaged the country,

\* Paté, an isle and town on the coast of Zanzibar in Afric.

try, and laid every thing waste where they came; that they were man-eaters, and were on that account dreadful in all those parts. My companion and I being undeceived by this terrible relation, thought it would be the highest imprudence to expose ourselves both together to a death almost certain and unprofitable, and agreed that I should go with our Abyssin and a Portuguese to observe the country; that if I should prove so happy as to escape being killed by the inhabitants, and to discover a way, I should either return, or send back the Abyssin or Portuguese. Having fixed upon this, I hired a little bark to Jubo, a place about forty leagues distant from Paté, on board which I put some provisions, together with my sacerdotal vestments, and all that was necessary for saying mass. In this vessel we reached the coast, which we found inhabited by several nations; each nation is subject to its own king, and these petty monarchies are so numerous, that I counted at least ten in less than four leagues.

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## C H A P. II.

*The Author lands: the difficulty of his journey. An account of the Gallas, and of the Author's reception at the king's tent; their manner of swearing, and of letting blood. The Author returns to the Indies, and finds the patriarch of Ethiopia.*

**O**N this coast we landed, with an intention of travelling on foot to Jubo, a journey of much greater length and difficulty than we imagined. We durst not go far from our bark, and therefore weré obliged to a

toilsome march along the windings of the shore, sometimes clambering up rocks, and sometimes wading thro' the sands ; so that we were every moment in the utmost danger of falling from the one, or sinking in the other. Our lodging was either in the rocks or on the sands, and even that incommoded by continual apprehensions of being devoured by lions and tygers. Amidst all these calamities, our provisions failed us ; we had little hopes of a supply, for we found neither villages, houses, nor any trace of a human creature ; and had miserably perished by thirst and hunger, had we not met with some fishermens boats, who exchanged their fish for tobacco.

Through all these fatigues, we at length came to Jubo, a kingdom of considerable extent, situated almost under the line, and tributary to the Portuguese, who carry on a trade here for ivory and other commodities. This region so abounds with elephants, that though the teeth of the male only are valuable, they load several ships with ivory every year. All this coast is much infested with ravenous beasts, monkeys, and serpents ; of which last, here are some seven feet in length, and thicker than an ordinary man : In the head of this serpent is found a stone about the bigness of an egg, resembling bezoar, and of great efficacy, as it is said, against all kinds of poison. I staid here some time to inform myself, whether I might, by pursuing this road, reach Abyssinia, and could get no other intelligence, but that two thousand Gallees, (the same people who inhabited Melinda) had encamped about three leagues from Jubo ; that they had been induced to fix in that place by the plenty of provisions they found there. These Gallees lay every thing where they come in ruin, putting all to the sword without distinction of age or sex ; which barbarities, though their numbers are not great, have spread the  
terror



terror of them over all the country. They choose a king, whom they call Lubo, every eighth year. They carry their wives with them, and expose their children without any tenderness in the woods, it being prohibited, on pain of death, to take any care of those which are born in the camp. This is their way of living when they are in arms; but afterwards, when they settle at home, they breed up their children. They feed upon raw cow's flesh; when they kill a cow, they keep the blood to rub their bodies with, and wear the guts about their necks for ornaments, which they afterwards give to their wives.

Several of these Gallas came to see me; and as it seemed they had never beheld a white man before, they gazed on me with amazement. So strong was their curiosity, that they even pulled off my shoes and stockings, that they might be satisfied whether all my body was of the same colour with my face. I could remark, that after they had observed me some time, they discovered some aversion from a white. However, seeing me pull out my handkerchief, they asked me for it with a great deal of eagerness. I cut it into several pieces, that I might satisfy them all, and distributed it amongst them. They bound them about their heads; but gave me to understand that they should have liked them better if they had been red. After this we were seldom without their company, which gave occasion to an accident, which, though it seemed to threaten some danger at first, turned afterward to our advantage.

As these people were continually teasing us, our Portuguese one day threatened in jest to kill one of them. The black ran in the utmost dread to seek his comrades, and we were, in one moment, almost covered with Gallas. We thought it the most proper course to decline

cline the first impulse of their fury, and retired into our house. Our retreat inspired them with courage; they redoubled their cries, and posted themselves on an eminence near at hand that overlooked us, there they insulted us by brandishing their lances and daggers. We were fortunately not above a stone's cast from the sea, and could therefore have retreated to our bark, had we found ourselves reduced to extremities; this made us not very solicitous about their menaces. But finding that they continued to hover about our habitation, and being wearied with their clamours, we thought it might be a good expedient to fright them away by firing four muskets towards them, in such a manner, that they might hear the bullets hiss about two feet over their heads. This had the effect we wished; the noise and fire of our arms struck them with so much terror, that they fell upon the ground, and durst not for some time so much as lift up their heads. They forgot immediately their natural temper; their ferocity and haughtiness were softened into mildness and submission; they asked pardon for their insolence, and we were ever after good friends.

After our reconciliation we visited each other frequently, and had some conversation about the journey I had undertaken, and the desire I had of finding a new passage into Ethiopia. It was necessary on this account to consult their Lubo, or king; I found him in a straw hut, something larger than those of his subjects, surrounded by his courtiers, who had each a stick in his hand, which is longer or shorter according to the quality of the person admitted into the king's presence. The ceremony made use of at the reception of a stranger is somewhat unusual; as soon as he enters, all the courtiers strike him with their cudgels till he goes back to the door; the amity then subsisting between us did not secure

care me from this uncouth reception, which they told me, upon my demanding the reason of it, was to shew those whom they treated with, that they were the bravest people in the world, and that all other nations ought to bow down before them. I could not help reflecting on this occasion, how imprudently I had trusted my life in the hands of men unacquainted with compassion or civility; but recollecting at the same time, that the intent of my journey was such as might give me hopes of the divine protection, I banished all thoughts but those of finding a way into Ethiopia. In this strait it occurred to me, that these people, however barbarous, have some oath which they keep with an inviolable strictness; the best precaution therefore that I could use would be to bind them by this oath to be true to their engagements. The manner of their swearing is this; they set a sheep in the midst of them, and rub it over with butter; the heads of families, who are the chief in the nation, lay their hands upon the head of the sheep, and swear to observe their promise. This oath (which they never violate) they explain thus; the sheep is the mother of them who swear, the butter betokens the love between the mother and the children, and an oath taken on a mother's head is sacred. Upon the security of this oath, I made them acquainted with my intention; an intention, they told me, it was impossible to put in execution. From the moment I left them, they said, they could give me no assurance of either life or liberty; that they were perfectly informed both of the roads and inhabitants; that there were no fewer than nine nations between us and Abyssinia, who were always embroiled amongst themselves, or at war with the Abyssins, and enjoyed no security even in their own territories. We were now convinced that our enterprize was impracticable; and that

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to hazard ourselves amidst so many insurmountable difficulties would be to tempt Providence. Despairing therefore, that I should ever come this way to Abyssinia, I resolved to return back with my intelligence to my companion, whom I had left at Paté.

I cannot, however, leave this country, without giving an account of their manner of blood-letting, which I was led to the knowledge of by a violent fever, which threatened to put an end to my life and travels together. The distress I was in may easily be imagined, being entirely destitute of every thing necessary. I had resolved to let myself blood, though I was altogether a stranger to the manner of doing it, and had no lancet. But my companions hearing of a surgeon of reputation in the place, went and brought him. I saw with the utmost surprise an old Moor enter my chamber, with a kind of small dagger all over rusty, and a mallet in his hand, and three cups of horn about half a foot long. I started, and asked what he wanted? He told me to bleed me; and when I had given him leave, uncovering my side, applied one of his horn-cups which he stoped with chewed paper, and by that means made it stick fast; in the same manner he fixed on the other two, and fell to sharpening his instrument, assuring me that he would give me no pain. He then took off his cups, and gave in each place a stroke with his poignard, which was followed by a stream of blood. He applied his cups several times, and every time struck his lancet into the same place; having drawn away a large quantity of blood, he healed the orifices with three lumps of tallow. I know not whether to attribute my cure to bleeding, or my fear, but I had from that time no return of my fever.

When I came to Paté in hopes of meeting with my associate, I found that he was gone to Mombaza in hopes  
of

of receiving information ; he was sooner undeceived than I, and we met at the place where we parted, in a few days, and soon afterwards left Paté to return to the Indies ; and in nine and twenty days arrived at the famous fortress of Diou \*. We were told at this place, that Alfonso Mendes, patriarch of Ethiopia, was arrived at Goa from Lisbon. He wrote to us, to desire that we would wait for him at Diou, in order to embark there for the Red sea ; but being informed by us that no opportunities of going thither were to be expected at Diou, it was at length determined that we should meet at Bazaim ; it was no easy matter for me to find means of going to Bazaim. However, after a very uneasy voyage, in which we were often in danger of being dashed against the rocks, or thrown upon the sands, by the rapidity of the current, and suffered the utmost distress for want of water, I landed at Daman †, a place about twenty leagues distant from Bazaim. Here I hired a Catre and four boys to carry me to Bazaim ; these Cattles are a kind of travelling couches, in which you may either lie or sit, which the boys, whose business is the same with that of chairmen in our country, support upon their shoulders by two poles, and carry a passenger at the rate of eighteen or twenty miles a-day. Here we at length found the patriarch with three more priests, like us, designed for the Mission of Ethiopia. We went back to Daman, and from thence to Diou, where we arrived in a short time.

\* Diou, an island and town at the mouth of the river Indus.

† Daman, a port upon the coast of the gulf of Cambaya.

## C H A P. III.

*The Author embarks with the patriarch, narrowly escapes shipwreck near the isle of Socotora. Enters the Arabian Gulf, and the Red sea. Some Account of the coast of the Red sea.*

**T**HE patriarch having met with many obstacles and disappointments in his return to Abyssinia, grew impatient of being so long absent from his church. Lopo Gomez d'Abreu, had made him an offer at Bazaim of fitting out three ships at his own expence, provided a commission could be procured him to cruise in the Red sea. This proposal was accepted by the patriarch, and a commission granted by the viceroy. While we were at Diou waiting for these vessels, we received advice from Ethiopia, that the emperor, unwilling to expose the patriarch to any hazards, thought Dagher, a port in the mouth of the Red sea, belonging to a prince dependant on the Abyssins, a place of the greatest security to land at, having already written to that prince to give him safe passage through his dominions. We met here with new delays ; the fleet that was to transport us did not appear, the patriarch lost all patience, and his zeal so much affected the commander at Diou, that he undertook to equip a vessel for us, and pushed the work forward with the utmost diligence. At length the long expected ships entered the port, we were overjoyed, we were transported, and prepared to go on board. Many persons at Diou seeing the vessels so well fitted out, desired leave to go this voyage along with us, imagining they had an excellent opportunity of acquiring both wealth and honour. We committed, however, one great error

error in the setting out ; for, having equipped our ships for privateering, and taken no merchandise on board, we could not touch at any of the ports of the Red sea. The patriarch impatient to be gone, took leave in the most tender manner of the governor and his other friends, recommended our voyage to the blessed Virgin, and in the field, before we went on shipboard, made a short exhortation, so moving and pathetic, that it touched the hearts of all who heard it. In the evening we went on board, and early the next morning, being the 3d of April 1625, we set sail.

After some days, we discovered about noon the island Socotora \*, where we proposed to touch. The sky was bright, and the wind fair, nor had we the least apprehension of the danger into which we were falling, but with the utmost carelessness and jollity held on our course. At night, when our sailors, especially the Moors, were in a profound sleep, (for the Mahometans believing every thing forewritten in the decrees of God, and not alterable by any human means, resign themselves entirely to providence) our vessel ran a ground upon a sand bank at the entrance of the harbour. We got her off with the utmost difficulty, and nothing but a miracle could have preserved us. We ran along afterwards by the side of the island, but were entertained with no other prospect than of a mountainous country, and of rocks that jutted out over the sea, and seemed ready to fall into it. In the afternoon, putting into the most convenient ports of the island, we came to anchor ; very much to the amazement and terror of the inhabitants, who were not used to see any Portuguese ships upon their coasts, and were therefore under a great consternation at finding them even in their ports. Some ran for security to the mountains, others

\* Socotora, an island near the mouth of the streights of Babelmandel.

others took up arms to oppose our landing, but were soon reconciled to us, and brought us fowls, fish, and sheep, in exchange for India callicoes, on which they set a great value. We left this island early the next morning, and soon came in sight of Cape Gardafui, so celebrated heretofore under the name of the Cape of Spices; either because great quantities were then found there, or from its neighbourhood to Arabia the Happy, even at this day famous for its fragrant products. It is properly at this Cape (the most eastern part of Africa) that the gulf of Arabia begins, which at Babelmandel loses its name, and is called the Red sea. Here, though the weather was calm, we found the sea so rough, that we were tossed, as in a high wind, for two nights. Whether this violent agitation of the water proceeded from the narrowness of the streight, or from the fury of the late storm, I know not. Whatever was the cause, we suffered all the hardships of a tempest. We continued our course towards the Red sea, meeting with nothing in our passage but a *Gelve*, or kind of boat made of thin boards sewed together, with no other sail than a mat. We gave her chase, in hopes of being informed by the crew, whether there were any Arabian vessels at the mouth of the streight. But the Moors, who all entertain dismal apprehensions of the Franks, plyed their oars and sail with the utmost diligence, and as soon as they reached land, quitted their boat, and scoured to the mountains. We saw them make signals from thence, and imagining they would come to a parley, sent out our boat, with two sailors and an Abyssin, putting the ships off from the shore, to set them free from any suspicion of danger in coming down. All this was to no purpose, they could not be drawn from the mountain, and our men had orders not to go on shore, so they were obliged to



to return without information. Soon after we discovered the isle of Babelmandel, which gives name to the strait so called, and parts the sea that surrounds it into two channels: that on the side of Arabia is not above a quarter of a league in breadth; and through this pass almost all the vessels that trade to or from the Red sea. The other on the side of Ethiopia, though much larger, is more dangerous, by reason of the shallows, which make it necessary for a ship, though of no great burthen, to pass very near the island where the channel is deeper and less embarrassed. This passage is never made use of but by those who would avoid meeting with the Turks, who are stationed on the coast of Arabia; it was for this reason we chose it. We passed it in the night, and entered that sea so renowned on many accounts in history both sacred and profane.

In our description of this famous sea, an account of which may justly be expected in this place, it is most convenient to begin with the coast of Arabia, on which part, at twelve leagues from the mouth, stands the city of Moca, a place of considerable trade. Forty leagues farther is the isle of Camaram, whose inhabitants are annoyed with little serpents, which they call Basilisks; which, though very poisonous and deadly, do not, as the ancients have told us, kill with their eyes; or, if they have so fatal a power, it is not at least in this place. Sailing ninety leagues farther, you see the noted port of Jodda, where the pilgrims that go to Mecca and Medina unlade those rich presents which the zeal of different princes is every day accumulating at the tomb of Mahomet. The commerce of this place, and the number of merchants that resort thither from all parts of the world are above description; and so richly laden are the ships that come hither, that when the Indians would express

a thing of inestimable price, they say, *It is of greater value than a ship of Jodda.* An hundred and eighteen leagues from thence lies Toro, and near it the ruins of an ancient monastery. This is the place, if the report of the inhabitants deserves any credit, where the Israelites miraculously passed through the Red sea on dry land; and there is some reason for imagining the tradition not ill grounded. For the sea is here only three leagues in breadth, all the ground about Toro is barren for want of water, which is only to be found, at a considerable distance, in one fountain, which flows out of the neighbouring mountains, at the foot of which there are still twelve palm-trees. Near Toro are several wells, which, as the Arabs tell us, were dug, by the order of Moses, to quiet the clamours of the thirsty Israelites. Suez lies in the bottom of the gulf, three leagues from Toro, once a place of note, now reduced under the Turks to an inconsiderable village, where the miserable inhabitants are forced to fetch water at three leagues distance. The ancient kings of Egypt conveyed the waters of the Nile to this place by an artificial canal, now so choaked with sand, that there are scarce any marks remaining of so noble and beneficial a work.

The first place to be met with in travelling along the coast of Africa is Rondelo, situate over against Toro, and celebrated for the same miraculous passage. Forty-five leagues from thence is Cocir. Here ends that long chain of mountains that reaches from this place even to the entrance of the Red sea. In this prodigious ridge, which extends three hundred leagues, sometimes approaching near the sea, and sometimes running far up into the land, there is only one opening, through which all that merchandise is conveyed which is embarked at Rifa, and from thence distributed through all the east.

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These mountains, as they are uncultivated, are in some parts shaded with large forests, and in others dry and bare. As they are exceedingly high, all the seasons may be here found together; when the storms of winter beat on one side, on the other is often a serene sky and a bright sun-shine. The Nile runs here so near the shore, that it might without much difficulty be turned through this opening of the mountains into the Red sea, a design which many of the emperors have thought of putting in execution, and thereby making a communication between the Red sea and the Mediterranean, but have been discouraged either by the greatness of the expence, or the fear of laying great part of Egypt under water, for some of that country lies lower than the sea.

Distant from Rondelo an hundred and thirty leagues is the isle of Suaquem, where the Bassa of that country chooses his residence for the convenience of receiving the tribute with greater exactness, there being a large trade carried on here with the Abyssins. The Turks of Suaquem have gardens on the firm land, not above a musket-shot from the island, which supply them with many excellent herbs and fruits, of which I doubt whether there be not a greater quantity on this little spot, than on the whole coast of Africa besides, from Melinda to Suez. For if we except the dates which grow between Suez and Suaquem, the ground does not yield the least product; all the necessaries of life, even water, is wanting. Nothing can support itself in this region of barrenness but Ostriches, which devour stones, or any thing they meet with: they lay a great number of eggs, part of which they break to feed their young with. These fowls, of which I have seen many, are very tame; and when they are pursued, stretch out their wings, and run with amazing swiftness. As they have cloven-feet,

they sometimes strike up the stones when they run, which gave occasion to the notion that they throw stones at the hunters; a relation equally to be credited with those of their eating fire and digesting iron. Those feathers, which are so much valued, grow under their wings. The shell of their eggs powdered is an excellent remedy for sore eyes.

The burning wind spoken of in the sacred writings, I take to be that which the natives term Arur, and the Arabs Uri; which, blowing in the Spring, brings with it so excessive an heat, that the whole country seems a burning oven; so that there is no travelling here in this dreadful season; nor is this the only danger to which the unhappy passenger is exposed in these uncomfortable regions. There blows in the months June, July, and August, another wind, which raises mountains of sand, and carries them through the air: all that can be done in this case is, when a cloud of sand rises, to mark where it is likely to fall; and to retire as far off as possible; but it is very usual for men to be taken unexpectedly, and smothered in the dust. One day I found the body of a Christian, whom I knew, upon the sand; he had doubtless been choaked by these winds. I recommended his soul to the divine mercy, and buried him. He seemed to have been some time dead, yet the body had no ill smell. These winds are most destructive in Arabia the desert.

## C H A P. IV.

*The Author's conjecture on the name of the Red sea. An account of the Coco tree. He lands at Baylur.*

**T**O return to the description of the coast. Sixty leagues from Suaquem is an island called Mazua, only considerable for its ports, which make the Turks reside upon it, though they are forced to keep three barks continually employed in fetching water, which is not to be found nearer than at the distance of twelve miles. Forty leagues from hence is Dalacha, an island where many pearls are found, but of small value. The next place is Baylur, forty leagues from Dalacha, and twelve from Babelmandel.

There are few things upon which a greater variety of conjectures has been offered, than upon the reasons that induced the ancients to distinguish this gulf, which separates Asia from Afric, by the name of the Red sea, an appellation that has almost universally obtained in all languages. Some affirm, that the torrents, which fall after great rains from the mountains, wash down such a quantity of red sand as gives a tincture to the water; others tell us, that the sun beams, being reverberated from the red rocks, give the sea on which they strike the appearance of that colour. Neither of these accounts are satisfactory; the coasts are so scorched by the heat, that they are rather black than red: nor is the colour of this sea much altered by the winds or rains. The notion generally received is, that the coral found in such quantities at the bottom of the sea might communicate this colour to the water; an account merely chimerical. Coral is

not to be found in all parts of this gulf, and red coral in very few. Nor does this water in fact differ from that of other seas. The patriarch and I have frequently amused ourselves with making observations, and could never discover any redness but in the shallows, where a kind of weed grew which they call Gouesmon, which redness disappeared as soon as we plucked up the plant. It is observable that St Jerome, confining himself to the Hebrew, calls this sea JAMSUF; Jam in that language signifies sea, and Suf is the name of a plant in Ethiopia, from which the Abyssins extract a beautiful crimson. Whether this be the same with the Gouesmon I know not, but am of opinion, that the herb gives to this sea both the colour and the name.

The vessels most used in the Red sea, though ships of all sizes may be met with there, are gelves, of which some mention hath been made already; these are the more convenient, because they will not split if thrown upon banks, or against rocks. These gelves have given occasion to the report, that out of the coco tree alone a ship may be built, fitted out with mast, sails, and cordage; and victualled with bread, water, wine, sugar, vinegar, and oil. All this indeed cannot be done out of one tree, but may out of several of the same kind. They saw the trunk into planks, and sew them together with thread which they spin out of the bark, and which they twist for the cables; the leaves stitched together make the sails. This boat, thus equipped, may be furnished with all necessaries from the same tree. There is not a month in which the coco does not produce a bunch of nuts, from twenty to fifty. At first sprouts out a kind of seed or capsula, of a shape not unlike the scabbard of a scymetar, which they cut, and place a vessel under, to receive the liquor that drops from it: this drink is called Soro;

Soro; and is clear, pleasant, and nourishing. If it be boiled, it grows hard, and makes a kind of sugar much valued in the Indies. Distil this liquor, and you have a strong water, of which is made excellent vinegar. All these different products are afforded before the nut is formed, and while it is green it contains a delicious cooling water; with these nuts they store their gelves, and it is the only provision of water which is made in this country. The second bark which contains the water, is so tender that they eat it. When this fruit arrives to perfect maturity, they either pound the kernel into meal, and make cakes of it, or draw an oil from it of a fine scent and taste, and of great use in medicine; so that what is reported of the different products of this wonderful tree, is neither false nor incredible.

It is time we should come now to the relation of our voyage. Having happily past the streights at the entrance of the Red sea, we pursued our course, keeping as near the shore as we could, without any farther apprehensions of the Turks. We were, however, under some concern that we were entirely ignorant in what part of the coast to find Baylur, a port where we proposed landing; and so little known, that our pilots, who had made many voyages in this sea, could give us no account of it. We were in hopes of information from the fishermen; but found, that as soon as we came near they fled from us in the greatest consternation. No signals of peace or friendship could prevail on them to stay; they either durst not trust, or did not understand us. We plyed along the coast in this uncertainty two days, till, on the first of March, having doubled a point of land which came out a great way into the sea, we found ourselves in the middle of a fair large bay, which many reasons induced us to think was Baylur. That we might be farther assured,

we sent our Abyssin on shore, who, returning next morning, confirmed our opinion. It would not be easy to determine whether our arrival gave us greater joy, or the inhabitants greater apprehensions; for we could discern a continual tumult in the land, and took notice that the crews of some barks that lay in the harbour were unloading with all possible diligence, to prevent the cargo from falling into our hands; very much indeed to the dissatisfaction of many of our soldiers, who, having engaged in this expedition with no other view than of filling their pockets, were, before the return of our Abyssin, for treating them like enemies, and taking them as a lawful prize. We were willing to be assured of a good reception in this port; the patriarch therefore sent me to treat with them. I dressed myself like a merchant, and in that habit received the four captains of gelves which the Chec sent to compliment me, and ordered to stay as hostages, whom I sent back, that I might gain upon their affections by the confidence I placed in their sincerity. This had so good an effect, that the Chec, who was transported with the account the officers gave of the civilities they had been treated with, came in an hour to visit me, bringing with him a Portuguese, whom I had sent a-shore as a security for his return. He informed me, that the king his master was encamped not far off, and that a Chec, who was then in the company, was just arrived from thence, and had seen the emperor of Ethiopia's letters in our favour. I was then convinced that we might land without scruple; and to give the patriarch notice of it, ordered a volley of our muskets to be fired, which was answered by the cannon of the two ships that lay at a distance, for fear of giving the Moors any cause of suspicion by their approach. The Chec and his attendants, though I had given them notice that we were going

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ing to let off our guns in honour of the king their master, could not forbear trembling at the fire and noise. They left us soon after, and next morning we landed our baggage, consisting chiefly of the patriarch's library, some ornaments for the church, some images, and some pieces of calicoe, which were of the same use as money. Most of the soldiers and sailors were desirous of going with us, some from real principles of piety, and a desire of sharing the labours and merits of the mission, others upon motives very different, the hopes of raising a fortune. To have taken all who offered themselves would have been an injury to the owners of the ships, by rendering them unable to continue their voyage, we therefore accepted only of a few.

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## C H A P. V.

*An account of Dancali. The conduct of Chec Furt. The Ambor wounded. They arrive at the court of the king of Dancali. A description of his pavilion, and the reception they met with.*

OUR goods were no sooner landed, than we were surrounded with a crowd of officers, all gaping for presents ; we were forced to gratify their avarice by opening our bales, and distributing among them some pieces of calicoe. What we gave to the Chec might be worth about a pistole, and the rest in proportion.

The kingdom of Dancali, to which this belongs, is barren, and thinly peopled; the king is tributary to the emperor of Abyssinia, and very faithful to his sovereign.  
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The emperor had not only written to him, but had sent a Moor and a Portuguese as his ambassadors, to secure us a kind reception; these in their way to this prince had come through the countries of Chumo-Salamay and Senaa, the utmost confines of Abyssinia, and had carried thither the emperor's orders concerning our passage.

On Ascension-day we left Baylur, having procured some camels and asses to carry our baggage. The first day's march was not above a league, and the others not much longer. Our guides performed their office very ill, being influenced, as we imagined, by the Chec Furt, an officer, whom, though unwillingly, we were forced to take with us. This man, who might have brought us to the king in three days, led us out of the way, thro' horrid desarts destitute of water; or where what we found was so foul, nauseous, and offensive, that it excited a loathing and aversion, which nothing but extreme necessity could have overcome.

Having travelled some days, we were met by the king's brother, to whom, by the advice of Chec Furt, whose intent in following us was to squeeze all he could from us, we presented some pieces of Chinese workmanship, such as cases of boxes, a standish, and some earthen ware, together with several pieces of painted calicoe, which were so much more agreeable, that he desired some other pieces instead of our Chinese curiosities. We willingly made the exchange: yet some time afterwards he asked again for those Chinese goods which he had returned us; nor was it in our power to refuse them. I was here in danger of losing my life by a compliment which the Portuguese paid the prince, of a discharge of twelve muskets; one being unskilfully charged too high, flew out of the soldier's hand, and falling against my leg wounded it very much. We had no surgeon with us, so  
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that all I could do was to bind it hard with some cloth. I was obliged by this accident to make use of the Chec Furt's horse, which was the greatest service we received from him in all our journey.

When we came within two leagues and an half of the king's court, he sent some messengers with his compliments, and five mules for the chief of our company. Our road lay through a wood, where we found the ground covered over with young locusts, a plague intolerably afflictive in a country so barren of itself. We arrived at length at the bank of a small river, near which the king usually keeps his residence, and found his palace at the foot of a little mountain. It consisted of about six tents and twenty cabins, erected amongst some thorns and wild trees, which afforded a shelter from the heat of the weather. He received us the first time in a cabin, about a musket-shot distant from the rest, furnished out with a throne in the middle, built of clay and stones, and covered with tapestry and two velvet cushions. Over against him stood his horse, with his saddle and other furniture hanging by him; for in this country the master and his horse make use of the same apartment; nor doth the king, in this respect, affect more grandeur than his subjects. When we entered, we seated ourselves on the ground with our legs crossed, in imitation of the rest, whom we found in the same posture. After we had waited some time, the king came in, attended by his domestics and his officers. He held a small lance in his hand, and was dressed in a silk robe, with a turbant on his head, to which were fastened some rings of very neat workmanship, which fell down upon his forehead. All kept silence for some time, and the king told us by his interpreter, that we were welcome to his dominions; that he had been informed we were to come,  
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by the emperor his father ; and that he condoled the hardships we had undergone at sea. He desired us not to be under any concern at finding ourselves in a country so distant from our own, for those dominions were ours ; and he and the emperor his father would give us all the proofs we could desire of the sincerest affection. We returned him thanks for this promise of his favour, and after a short conversation went away. Immediately we were teased by those who brought us the mules, and demanded to be paid the hire of them ; and had advice given us at the same time, that we should get a present ready for the king. The Chec Furt, who was extremely ready to undertake any commission of this kind, would needs direct us in the affair ; and told us, that our gifts ought to be of greater value, because we had neglected making any such offer at our first audience, contrary to the custom of that country. By these pretences he obliged us to make a present to the value of about twenty pounds, with which he seemed to be pleased ; and told us we had nothing to do, but prepare to make our entry.

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## C H A P. VI.

*The king refuses their present. The Author's boldness. The present is afterwards accepted. The people are forbidden to sell them provisions. The Author remonstrates against the usage. The king redresses it.*

**B**UT such was either the hatred or avarice of this man, that instead of doing us the good offices he pretended, he advised the king to refuse our present, that

that he might draw from us something more valuable. When I attended the king in order to deliver the presents, after I had excused the smallness of them, as being, though unworthy his acceptance, the largest that our profession of poverty, and distance from our country allowed us to make, he examined them one by one, with a dissatisfied look; and told me, that however he might be pleased with our good intentions, he thought our present such as could not be offered to a king without affronting him; and made me a sign with his hand to withdraw, and take back what I had brought. I obeyed, telling him, that perhaps he might send for it again, without having so much. The Chec Furt, who had been the occasion of all this, coming to us afterwards, blamed us exceedingly for having offered so little: and being told by us that the present was picked out by himself, that we had nothing better to give, and that what we had left would scarce defray the expences of our journey, he pressed us at least to add something; but could prevail no farther than to persuade us to repeat our former offer, which the king was now pleased to accept, though with no kinder countenance than before.

Here we spent our time and our provisions without being able to procure any more. The country, indeed, affords goats and honey, but nobody would sell us any; the king, as I was secretly informed, having strictly prohibited it, with a view of forcing all we had from us. The patriarch sent me to expostulate the matter with the king, which I did in very warm terms; telling him, that we were assured by the emperor of a reception in this country far different from what we met with, which assurances he had confirmed by his promise, and the civilities we were entertained with at our first arrival; but  
that

that instead of friends, who would compassionate our miseries and supply our necessities, we found ourselves in the midst of mortal enemies, that wanted to destroy us.

The king, who affected to appear ignorant of the whole affair, demanded an account of the injuries I complained of; and told me, that if any of his subjects should dare to attempt our lives, it should cost him his own. We are not, replied I, in danger of being stabbed or poisoned, but are doomed to a more lingering and painful death by that prohibition which obliges your subjects to deny us the necessaries of life: if it be your Highness's pleasure that we die here, we entreat that we may at least be dispatched quickly, and not condemned to longer torments. The king, startled at this discourse, denied that he had given any such orders; and was very importunate to know the author of our intelligence; but finding me determined not to discover him, he sent me away with a promise, that for the future we should be furnished with every thing we wanted; and indeed that same day we bought three goats for about a crown, and some honey, and found ourselves better treated than before.

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## C H A P. VII.

*They obtain leave, with some difficulty, to depart from Dan-cali. The difficulties of their march. A broil with the Moors. They arrive at the Plain of Salt.*

**T**HIS usage, with some differences we had with a Moor, made us very desirous of leaving this country; but we were still put off with one pretence or other, whenever

whenever we asked leave to depart. Tired with these delays, I applied myself to his favourite minister, with a promise of a large present if he could obtain us an audience of leave. He came to us at night to agree upon the reward, and soon accomplished all we desired ; both getting us a permission to go out of the kingdom, and procuring us camels to carry our baggage, and that of the Abyssinian ambassadors who were ordered to accompany us.

We set out from the kingdom of Dancali on the fifteenth of June, having taken our leave of the king, who, after many excuses for every thing that had happened, dismissed us with a present of a cow and some provisions ; desiring us to tell the emperor of Ethiopia his father, that we had met with kind treatment in his territories, a request which we did not at that time think it convenient to deny.

Whatever we had suffered hitherto was nothing to the difficulties we were now entering upon, and which God had decreed us to undergo for the sake of Jesus Christ. Our way now lay through a region scarce passable, and full of serpents, which were continually creeping between our legs ; we might have avoided them in the day, but being obliged, that we might avoid the excessive heats, to take long marches in the night, we were every moment treading upon them : nothing but a signal interposition of Providence could have preserved us from being bitten by them, or perishing either by weariness or thirst ; for sometimes we were a long time without water, and had nothing to support our strength in this fatigue but a little honey, and a small piece of cow's flesh dried in the sun. Thus we travelled on for many days, scarce allowing ourselves any rest, till we came to a channel, or hollow worn in the mountains by the winter torrents. Here we found

found some coolness, and good water, a blessing we enjoyed for three days : down this channel all the winter runs a great river, which is dried up in the heats, or, to speak more properly, hides itself under ground. We walked along its side sometimes seven or eight leagues without seeing any water, and then we found it rising out of the ground ; at which places we never failed to drink as much as we could, and fill our bottles.

In our march, there fell out an unlucky accident; which, however, did not prove of the bad consequences it might have done. The master of our camels was an old Mahometan, who had conceived an opinion that it was an act of merit to do us all the mischief he could ; and in pursuance of his notion, made it his chief employment to steal every thing he could lay hold on ; his piety even transported him so far, that one morning he stole and hid the cords of our tents. The patriarch, who saw him at the work, charged him with it ; and upon his denial, shewed him the end of the cord hanging from under the saddle of one of his camels. Upon this we went to seize them, but were opposed by him and the rest of the drivers, who set themselves in a posture of opposition with their daggers : our soldiers had recourse to their muskets, and four of them putting the mouths of their pieces to the heads of some of the most obstinate and turbulent, struck them with such a terror, that all the clamour was stilled in an instant. None received any hurt but the Moor who had been the occasion of the tumult. He was knocked down by one of our soldiers; who had cut his throat, but that the fathers prevented it ; he then restored the cords, and was more tractable ever after. In all my dealings with the Moors I have always discovered in them an ill-natured cowardice, which makes them insupportably insolent, if you shew them



them the least respect, and easily reduced to reasonable terms, when you treat them with a high hand.

After a march of some days, we came to an opening between the mountains, the only passage out of Dancali into Abyssinia. Heaven seems to have made this place on purpose for the repose of weary travellers, who here exchange the tortures of parching thirst, burning sands, and a sultry climate, for the pleasures of shady trees, the refreshment of a clear stream, and the luxury of a cooling breeze. We arrived at this happy place about noon, and the next day, at evening, left those fanning winds, and woods flourishing with unfading verdure, for the dismal barrenness of the vast uninhabitable plains from which Abyssinia is supplied with salt. These plains are surrounded with high mountains, continually covered with thick clouds which the sun draws from the lakes that are here, from which the water runs down into the plain, and is there congealed into salt. Nothing can be more curious than to see the channels and aqueducts that nature has formed in this hard rock so exact, and of such admirable contrivance, that they seem to be the work of men. To this place caravans of Abyssinia are continually resorting, to carry salt into all parts of the empire, which they set a great value upon; and which in their country is of the same use as money. The superstitious Abyssins imagine, that the cavities of the mountains are inhabited by evil spirits, which appear in different shapes, calling those that pass by their names, as in a familiar acquaintance; who, if they go to them, are never seen afterwards. This relation was confirmed by the Moorish officer who came with us, who, as he said, had lost a servant in that manner: the man certainly fell into the hands of the Gallas, who lurk in those dark retreats, cut the throats of the merchants, and carry off their effects.

The heat, making it impossible to travel through this plain in the day time, we set out in the evening, and in the night lost our way. It is very dangerous to go through this place, for there are no marks of the right road, but some heaps of salt, which we could not see. Our camel-drivers getting together to consult on this occasion, we suspected they had some ill design in hand, and got ready our weapons; they perceived our apprehensions, and set us at ease, by letting us know the reason of their consultation. Travelling hard all night, we found ourselves next morning past the plain; but the road we were in was not more commodious, the points of the rocks pierced our feet: to increase our perplexities, we were alarmed with the approach of an armed troop, which our fear immediately suggested to be the Gallees, who chiefly beset these passes of the mountains; we put ourselves on the defensive, and expected them; whom, upon a more exact examination, we found to be only a caravan of merchants, come as usual to fetch salt.

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### C H A P. VIII.

*They lose their way; are in continual apprehensions of the Gallees. They come to Duan, and settle in Abyssinia.*

**A**BOUT nine the next morning, we came to the end of this toilsome and rugged path, where the way divided into two, yet both led to a well, the only one that was found in our journey. A Moor, with three others, took the shortest, without directing us to follow him; so we marched forwards we knew not whither, through;

through woods and over rocks, without sleep or any other refreshment : At noon, the next day, we discovered that we were near the field of Salt. Our affliction and distress is not to be expressed. We were all fainting with heat and weariness ; and two of the patriarch's servants were upon the point of dying for water. None of us had any but a Moor, who could not be prevailed upon to part with it at less than the weight in gold. We got some from him at last, and endeavoured to revive the two servants, while part of us went to look for a guide that might put us in the right way. The Moors who had arrived at the well, rightly guessing that we were lost, sent one of their company to look for us, whom we heard shouting in the woods, but durst make no answer for fear of the Gallees. At length he found us, and conducted us to the rest ; we instantly forgot our past calamities, and had no other care than to recover the patriarch's attendants. We did not give them a full draught at first, but poured in the water by drops, to moisten their mouths and throats, which were extremely swelled ; by this caution they were soon well. We then fell to eating and drinking, and though we had nothing but our ordinary repast of honey and dried flesh, thought we never had regaled more pleasantly in our lives.

We durst not stay long in this place for fear of the Gallees, who lay their ambushes more particularly near this well, by which all caravans must necessarily pass. Our apprehensions were very much increased by our suspicion of the camel-drivers, who, as we imagined, had advertised the Gallees of our arrival. The fatigue we had already suffered, did not prevent our continuing our march all night ; at last we entered a plain, where our drivers told us, we might expect to be attacked by the

Galles ; nor was it long before our own eyes convinced us that we were in great danger ; for we saw, as we went along, the dead bodies of a caravan who had been lately massacred, a sight which froze our blood, and filled us with pity and with horror. The same fate was not far from overtaking us ; for a troop of Galles, who were detached in search of us, missed us but an hour or two. We spent the next night in the mountains, but when we should have set out in the morning, were obliged to a fierce dispute with the old Moor, who had not yet lost his inclination to destroy us. He would have had us taken a road which was full of those people we were so much afraid of ; but at length, finding he could not prevail with us, that we charged the goods upon him as belonging to the emperor, to whom he should be answerable for the loss of them, he consented, in a sullen way, to go with us.

The desire of getting out of the reach of the Galles made us press forward with great expedition ; and indeed, fear having entirely engrossed our minds, we were perhaps less sensible of all our labours and difficulties ; so violent an apprehension of one danger made us look on many others with unconcern ; our pains at last found some intermission at the foot of the mountains of Duan, the frontier of Abyssinia, which separates it from the country of the Moors, through which we had travelled.

Here we imagined we might repose securely, a felicity we had long been strangers to ; here we began to rejoice at the conclusion of our labours ; the place was cool, and pleasant, the water excellent, and the birds melodious. Some of our company went into the wood to divert themselves with hearing the birds, and frightening the monkeys, creatures so cunning, that they would not stir if a man came unarmed, but would run immediately when they

they saw a gun. At this place our camel-drivers left us, to go to the feast of St Michael, which the Ethiopians celebrate the sixteenth of June. We persuaded them, however, to leave us their camels, and four of their company to take care of them.

We had not waited many days before some messengers came to us, with an account that Father Baradas, with the emperor's nephew, and many other persons of distinction, waited for us at some distance. We loaded our camels, and following the course of the river, came in seven hours to the place we were directed to halt at. Father Manual Baradas, and all the company who had waited for us a considerable time on the top of the mountain, came down when they saw our tents, and congratulated our arrival. It is not easy to express the benevolence and tenderness with which they embraced us, and the concern they shewed at seeing us worn away with hunger, labour and weariness, our cloaths tattered, and our feet bloody.

We left this place of interview the next day, and on the 21st of June arrived at Fremone, the residence of the missionaries, where we were welcomed by great numbers of Catholics, both Portuguese and Abyssins, who spared no endeavours to make us forget all we had suffered in so hazardous a journey, undertaken with no other intention, than to conduct them in the way of salvation.

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A  
DESCRIPTION  
OF  
ABYSSINIA.

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CHAP. I.

*The History of Abyssinia. An account of the queen of Sheba, and of queen Candace. The conversion of the Abyssins.*

**T**HE original of the Abyssins, like that of all other nations, is obscure and uncertain. The tradition generally received derives them from Cham the son of Noah; and they pretend, however improbably, that from his time till now, the legal succession of their kings hath never been interrupted; and that the supreme power hath always continued in the same family. An authentic genealogy, traced up so high, could not but be extremely curious: and with good reason might the emperors of Abyssinia boast themselves the most illustrious and ancient family in the world. But there are no real grounds for imagining that Providence has vouchsafed them so distinguishing a protection; and from the wars with which this empire hath been shaken in these  
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later ages, we may justly believe, that, like all others, it has suffered its revolutions, and that the history of the Abyssins is corrupted with fables. This empire is known by the name of the kingdom of Prester-John. For the Portuguese, having heard such wonderful relations of an ancient and famous Christian state called by that name in the Indies, imagined it could be none but this of Ethiopia. Many things concurred to make them of this opinion : there was no Christian kingdom or state in the Indies, of which all was true which they heard of this land of Prester-John : and there was none in the other parts of the world which was a Christian separated from the Catholic church, but what was known, except this kingdom of Ethiopia. It has therefore, passed for the kingdom of Prester-John, since the time that it was discovered by the Portuguese in the reign of king John the second.

The country is properly called Abyssinia, and the people term themselves Abyssins. Their histories count an hundred and sixty-two reigns, from Cham to Faciladas, or Basilides; among which some women are remarkably celebrated. One of the most renowned is the queen of Sheba, mentioned in scripture, whom the natives call Nicaula, or Macheda; and in their translation of the gospel, Nagista Azeb; which in their language is queen of the south. They still shew the ruins of a city, which appears to have been once of note, as the place where she kept her court, and a village which, from its being the place of her birth, they call the land of Saba : The kings of Ethiopia draw their boasted pedigree from Minilech the son of this queen, and Solomon. The other queen, for whom they retain a great veneration, is Candace, whom they call Judith; and indeed, if what they relate of her could be proved, there never was, amongst

mongst the most illustrious and beneficent sovereigns, any to whom their country was more indebted; for it is said, that she, being converted by Inda her eunuch, whom St Philip baptized, prevailed with her subjects to quit the worship of idols, and profess the faith of Jesus Christ. This opinion appears to me without any better foundation, than another of the conversion of the Abyssins to the Jewish rites by the queen of Sheba, at her return from the court of Solomon. They, however, who patronise these traditions, give us very specious accounts of the zeal and piety of the Abyssins at their first conversion. Many, they say, abandoned all the pleasures and vanities of life for solitude and religious austerities; others devoted themselves to God in an ecclesiastical life: they who could not do these set apart their revenues for building churches, and endowing chapels, and founding monasteries; and spent their wealth in costly ornaments for the churches and vessels for the altars. It is true that this people have a natural disposition to goodness; they are very liberal of their alms; they much frequent their churches, and are very studious to adorn them: they practise fasting and other mortifications; and, notwithstanding their separation from the Roman church, and the corruptions which have crept into their faith, yet retain, in a great measure, the devout fervour of the primitive Christians. There never were greater hopes of uniting this people to the church of Rome, which their adherence to the Eutychian heresy has made very difficult, than in the time of Sultan Segued, who called us into his dominions in the year 1625, from whence we were expelled in 1634. As I have lived a long time in this country, and borne a share in all that has passed, I will present the reader with a short account of what I have observed, and of the revolution which forced us to abandon Ethiopia, and destroyed all  
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our hopes of reuniting this kingdom with the Roman church.

The empire of Abyssinia hath been one of the largest which history gives us an account of: it extended formerly from the Red sea to the kingdom of Congo, and from Egypt to the Indian sea. It is not long since it contained forty provinces, but is now not much bigger than all Spain, and consists but of five kingdoms and six provinces; of which, part is entirely subject to the emperor, and part only pays him some tribute or acknowledgment of dependance, either voluntarily or by compulsion. Some of these are of very large extent. The kingdoms of Tigre, Bagameder, and Goiama, are as big as Portugal, or bigger: Amhara and Damote are something less. The provinces are inhabited by Moors, Pagans, Jews, and Christians, the last is the reigning and established religion. This diversity of people and religion is the reason that the kingdom in different parts is under different forms of government, and that their laws and customs are extremely various.

The inhabitants of the kingdom of Amhara are the most civilized and polite; and next to them the natives of Tigre, or the true Abyssins. The rest, except the Damotes, the Gasates, and the Agaus, which approach somewhat nearer to civility, are entirely rude and barbarous. Among these nations the Galles, who first alarmed the world in 1542, have remarkably distinguished themselves, by the ravages they have committed, and the terrour they have raised in this part of Africa. They neither sow their lands, nor improve them by any kind of culture; but, living upon milk and flesh, encamp, like the Arabs, without any settled habitation. They practise no rites of worship, though they believe, that in the regions above, there dwells a Being that governs the world:

world: Whether by this Being they mean the sun or the sky is not known; or indeed, whether they have not some conception of the God that created them. This Deity they call in their language Oul. In other matters they are yet more ignorant, and have some customs so contrary even to the laws of nature, as might almost afford reason to doubt whether they are endued with reason. The Christianity professed by the Abyssins is so corrupted with superstitions, errors, and heresies, and so mingled with ceremonies borrowed from the Jews, that little besides the name of Christianity is to be found here; and the thorns may be said to have choaked the grain. This proceeds in a great measure from the diversity of religions which are tolerated there, either by negligence or from motives of policy; and the same cause hath produced such various revolutions, revolts, and civil wars, within these later ages. For those different sects do not easily admit of an union with each other, or a quiet subjection to the same monarch. The Abyssins cannot properly be said to have either cities or houses; they live either in tents, or in cottages made of straw and clay; for they very rarely build with stone. Their villages, or towns, consist of these huts; yet even of such villages they have but few, because the grandees, the viceroys, and the emperor himself are always in the camp, that they may be prepared, upon the most sudden summons, to go where the exigence of affairs demands their presence. And this precaution is no more than necessary for a prince every year engaged either in foreign wars, or intestine commotions. These towns have each a governor, whom they call Gadare, over whom is the educ, or lieutenant, and both are accountable to an officer called the Afamacon, or mouth of the king; because he receives the revenues, which he pays into the hands of  
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the Relatina-Fala, or grand-master of the household: sometimes the emperor creates a ratz, or viceroy, general over all the empire, who is superior to all his other officers.

Ethiopia produces very near the same kinds of provisions as Portugal; though, by the extreme laziness of the inhabitants, in a much less quantity. However, there are some roots, herbs, and fruits, which grow there much better than in other places. What the ancients imagined of the torrid zone being uninhabitable, is so far from being true, that this climate is very temperate: the heats, indeed, are excessive in Congo and Monomotapa, but in Abyssinia they enjoy a perpetual Spring, more delicious and charming than that in our country. The Blacks here are not ugly like those of the kingdoms I have spoken of, but have better features, and are not without wit and delicacy; their apprehension is quick, and their judgment sound. The heat of the sun, however it may contribute to their colour, is not the only reason of it; there is some peculiarity in the temper and constitution of their bodies, since the same men, transported into cooler climates, produce children very near as black as themselves.

They have here two harvests in the year, which is a sufficient recompence for the small produce of each\*, one harvest they have in the Winter, which lasts through the months of July, August, and September; the other in the Spring: their trees are always green, and it is the fault of the inhabitants that they produce so little fruit, the soil being well adapted to all sorts, especially those that come from the Indies. They have in the greatest

\* Une recolte se fait dans l'hiver, qui dure pendant les Mois de Juillet, Aoust, et Septembre, et l'autre dans le Printems.

est plenty raisins, peaches, four pomegranates, and sugar-canes, and some figs. Most of these are ripe about Lent, which the Abyssins keep with great strictness.

After the vegetable products of this country, it seems not improper to mention the animals which are found in it, of which here are as great numbers of as many different species as in any country in the world. It is infested with lions of many kinds, among which are many of that which is called the lion-royal. I cannot help giving the reader, on this occasion, a relation of a fact which I was an eye-witness of. A lion having taken his haunt near the place where I lived, killed all the oxen and cows, and did a great deal of other mischief, of which I heard new complaints every day. A servant of mine having taken a resolution to free the country from this destroyer, went out one day with two lances; and after he had been some time in quest of him, found him with his mouth all smeared with the blood of a cow he had just devoured: the man rushed upon him, and thrust his lance into his throat with such violence that it came out between his shoulders; the beast with one dreadful roar fell down into a pit, and lay struggling till my servant dispatched him. I measured the body of this lion, and found him twelve feet between the head and the tail.

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## C H A P. II.

*The animals of Abyssinia; the elephant, unicorn, their horses and cows, with a particular account of the Moroc.*

**T**HERE are so great numbers of elephants in Abyssinia, that, in one evening, we met three hundred of them in three troops: as they filled up the whole way,

wry, we were in a great perplexity a long time what measures to take ; at length, having implored the protection of that providence that superintends the whole creation, we went forwards through the midst of them, without any injury. Once we met four young elephants, and an old one that played with them, lifting them up with her trunk ; they grew enraged on the sudden, and ran upon us ; we had no way of securing ourselves but by flight, which, however, would have been fruitless, had not our pursuers been stopped by a deep ditch. The elephants of Ethiopia are of so stupendous a size, that when I was mounted on a large mule, I could not reach with my hand within two spans of the top of their backs. In Abyssinia is likewise found the rhinoceros, a mortal enemy to the elephant. In the province of Agaus has been seen the unicorn, that beast so much talked of, and so little known ; the prodigious swiftness with which this creature runs from one wood into another has given me no opportunity of examining it particularly ; yet I have had so near a sight of it, as to be able to give some description of it. The shape is the same with that of a beautiful horse, exact and nicely proportioned, of a bay colour, with a black tail, which in some provinces is long, in others very short ; some have long manes hanging to the ground. They are so timorous, that they never feed but surrounded with other beasts that defend them. Deer and other defenceless animals often herd about the elephant, which, contenting himself with roots and leaves, preserves those beasts that place themselves, as it were, under his protection, from the rage and fierceness of others that would devour them.

The horses of Abyssinia are excellent ; their mules, oxen and cows, are without number ; and in these principally consists the wealth of this country. They have a  
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very particular custom, which obliges every man that hath a thousand cows to save every year one day's milk of all his herd, and make a bath with it for his relations, entertaining them afterwards with a splendid feast. This they do so many days each year as they have thousands of cattle; so that, to express how rich any man is, they tell you he bathes so many times. The tribute paid out of their herds to the king, which is not the most inconsiderable of his revenues, is one cow in ten every three years. The beeves are of several kinds; one sort they have without horns, which are of no other use than to carry burthens, and serve instead of mules. Another twice as big as ours, which they breed to kill, fattening them with the milk of three or four cows. Their horns are so large the inhabitants use them for pitchers, and each will hold about five gallons. One of these oxen, fat and ready to be killed, may be bought at most for two crowns. I have purchased five sheep, or five goats, with nine kids, for a piece of calicoe worth about a crown.

The Abyssins have many sort of fowls both wild and tame, some of the former we are yet unacquainted with. There is one of wonderful beauty, which I have seen in no other place except Peru, it has, instead of a comb, a short horn upon its head, which is thick and round, and open at the top. The Feitan Favez, or devil's-horse, looks at a distance like a man dressed in feathers, it walks with abundance of majesty, till it finds itself pursued, and then takes wing and flies away. But amongst all their birds, there is none more remarkable than the Moroc, or honey-bird, which is furnished by nature with a peculiar instinct, or faculty of discovering honey. They have here multitudes of bees of various kinds, some are tame like ours, and form their combs in hives: Of the wild ones, some place their honey in hollow trees, others hide it in  
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holes in the ground, which they cover so carefully, that, though they are commonly in the highway, they are seldom found, unless by the Moroc's help; which, when he has discovered any honey, repairs immediately to the road side, and when he sees a traveller, sings, and claps his wings; making many motions to invite him to follow him, and when he perceives him coming, flies before him from tree to tree, till he comes to the place where the bees have stored their treasure, and then begins to sing melodiously. The Abyssin takes the honey, without failing to leave part of it for the bird, to reward him for his information. This kind of honey I have often tasted, and do not find that it differs from the other sorts in any thing but colour; it is somewhat blacker. The great quantity of honey that is gathered, and a prodigious number of cows that is kept here, have often made me call Abyssinia a land of honey and butter.

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## C H A P. III.

*The manner of eating in Abyssinia; their dress, their hospitality, and traffic.*

THE great lords, and even the emperor himself, maintain their tables with no great expence. The vessels they make use of are black earthen-ware, which, the older it is, they set a greater value on. Their way of dressing their meat, an European, till he hath been long accustomed to it, can hardly be persuaded to like; every thing they eat smells strong, and swims with butter. They make no use of either linen or plates. The persons

persons of rank never touch what they eat, but have their meat cut by their pages, and put into their mouths. When they feast a friend, they kill an ox, and set immediately a quarter of him raw upon the table, (for their most elegant treat is raw beef, newly killed, with pepper and salt; the gall of the ox serves them for oil and vinegar. Some, to heighten the delicacy of the entertainment, add a kind of sauce, which they call Manta, made of what they take out of the guts of the ox. This they set on the fire, with butter, salt, pepper, and onion. Raw beef thus relished is their nicest dish, and is eaten by them with the same appetite and pleasure as we eat the best partridges. They have often done me the favour of helping me to some of this sauce, and I had no way to decline eating it, besides telling them it was too good for a missionary.

The common drink of the Abyssins is beer and mead, which they drink to excess, when they visit one another; nor can there be a greater offence against good manners, than to let the guests go away sober. Their liquor is always presented by a servant, who drinks first himself, and then gives the cup to the company, in the order of their quality.

The meaner sort of people here dress themselves very plain; they only wear drawers, and a thick garment of cotton, that covers the rest of their bodies. The people of quality, especially those that frequent the court, run into the contrary extreme, and ruin themselves with costly habits. They wear all sorts of silks, and particularly the fine velvets of Turkey.

They love bright and glaring colours, and dress themselves much in the Turkish manner, except that their cloaths are wider, and their drawers cover their legs. Their robes are always full of gold and silver embroidery.



dery. They are most exact about their hair, which is long and twisted ; and their care of it is such, that they go bare-headed whilst they are young, for fear of spoiling it ; but afterwards wear red caps, and sometimes turbants, after the Turkish fashion.

The ladies dress is yet more magnificent and expensive ; their robes are as large as those of the religious of the order of St Bernard. They have various ways of dressing their heads, and spare no expence in ear-rings, necklaces, or any thing that may contribute to set them off to advantage. They are not much reserved or confined, and have so much liberty in visiting one another, that their husbands often suffer by it. But for this evil there is no remedy, especially when a man marries a princess, or one of the royal family. Besides their cloaths, the Abyssins have no moveables or furniture of much value, nor doth their manner of living admit of them.

One custom of this country deserves to be remarked : When a stranger comes to a village, or to the camp, the people are obliged to entertain him and his company according to his rank. As soon as he enters an house, (for they have no inns in this nation), the master informs his neighbours that he hath a guest ; immediately they bring in bread, and all kinds of provisions ; and there is great care taken to provide enough ; because, if the guest complains, the town is obliged to pay double the value of what they ought to have furnished. This practice is so well established, that a stranger goes into a house of one he never saw, with the same familiarity and assurance of welcome, as into that of an intimate friend, or near relation ; a custom very convenient, but which gives encouragement to great numbers of vagabonds throughout the kingdom.

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There is no money in Abyssinia, except in the eastern provinces, where they have iron coin. But in the chief provinces all commerce is managed by exchange. Their chief trade consists in provisions, cows, sheep, goats, fowls, pepper, and gold, which is weighed out to the purchaser, and principally in salt, which is properly the money of this country.

When the Abyssins are engaged in a law suit, the two parties make choice of a judge, and plead their own cause before him; and if they cannot agree in their choice, the governor of the place appoints them one, from whom there lies an appeal to the viceroy, and to the emperor himself. All causes are determined on the spot, no writings are produced. The judge sits down on the ground, in the midst of the high-road, where all that please may be present. The two persons concerned stand before him, with their friends about them, who serve as their attornies. The plaintiff speaks first, the defendant answers him; each is permitted to rejoin three or four times; then silence is commanded, and the judge takes the opinions of those that are about him. If the evidence be deemed sufficient, he pronounces sentence, which, in some cases, is decisive, and without appeal. He then takes the criminal into custody till he hath made satisfaction; but if it be a crime punishable with death, he is delivered over to the prosecutor, who may put him to death at his own discretion.

They have here a particular way of punishing adultery: A woman convicted of that crime is condemned to forfeit all her fortune, is turned out of her husband's house in a mean dress, and is forbid ever to enter it again. She has only a needle given her to get her living with. Sometimes her head is shaved, except one lock of hair which is left her, and even that depends on the will

will of her husband, who has it likewise in his choice, whether he will receive her again or not. If he resolves never to admit her, they are both at liberty to marry whom they will. There is another custom amongst them yet more extraordinary, which is, that the wife is punished whenever the husband proves false to the marriage-contract; this punishment indeed extends no farther than a pecuniary mulct; and what seems more equitable, the husband is obliged to pay a sum of money to his wife. When the husband prosecutes his wife's gallant, if he can produce any proofs of a criminal conversation, he recovers, for damages, forty cows, forty horses, and forty suits of cloaths, and the same number of other things. If the gallant be unable to pay him, he is committed to prison, and continues there during the husband's pleasure; who, if he sets him at liberty before the whole fine be paid, obliges him to take an oath that he is going to procure the rest, that he may be able to make full satisfaction. Then the criminal orders meat and drink to be brought out, they eat and drink together; he asks a formal pardon, which is not granted at first; however the husband forgives first one part of the debt, and then another, till at length the whole is remitted.

A husband that doth not like his wife may easily find means to make the marriage void; and, what is worse, may dismiss the second wife with less difficulty than he took her, and return to the first: so that marriages in this country are only for a term of years, and last no longer than both parties are pleased with each other; which is one instance how far distant these people are from the purity of the primitive believers, which they pretend to have preserved with so great strictness. The marriages are, in short, no more than bargains, made with this proviso, that when any discontent shall arise on either

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side, they may separate, and marry whom they please, each taking back what they brought with them.

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## C H A P. IV.

### *An account of the religion of the Abyssins.*

**Y**ET, though there is a great difference between our manners, customs, civil government, and those of the Abyssins, there is yet a much greater in points of faith; for so many errors have been introduced, and ingrafted into their religion, by their ignorance, their separation from the Catholic church, and their intercourse with Jews, Pagans, and Mahometans, that their present religion is nothing but a kind of confused miscellany of Jewish and Mahometan superstitions, with which they have corrupted those remnants of Christianity which they still retain.

They have, however, preserved the belief of our principal mysteries: they celebrate with a great deal of piety the passion of our Lord; they reverence the cross; they pay a great devotion to the blessed Virgin, the angels, and the saints; they observe the festivals, and pay a strict regard to the Sunday. Every month they commemorate the assumption of the Virgin Mary; and are of opinion, that no Christians, beside themselves, have a true sense of the greatness of the mother of God, or pay her the honours that are due to her. There are some tribes amongst them, (for they are distinguished like the Jews by their tribes), among whom the crime of swearing by the name of the Virgin is punished with forfeiture of goods, and even with loss of life. They are equally

qually scrupulous of swearing by St George. Every week they keep a feast to the honour of the apostles and angels ; they come to mass with great devotion, and love to hear the word of God. They receive the sacrament often, but do not always prepare themselves by confession. Their charity to the poor may be said to exceed the proper bounds that prudence ought to set to it ; for it contributes to encourage great numbers of beggars, which are a great annoyance to the whole kingdom ; and as I have often said, afford more exercise to a Christian's patience, than his charity : for their insolence is such, that they will refuse what is offered them, if it be not so much as they think proper to ask.

Though the Abyssins have not many images, they have great numbers of pictures, and perhaps pay them somewhat too high a degree of worship. The severity of their fasts is equal to that of the primitive church : In Lent they never eat till after sunset. Their fasts are the more severe, because milk and butter are forbidden them ; and no reason or necessity whatsoever can procure them a permission to eat meat ; and their country affording no fish, they live only on roots and pulse. On fast days they never drink, but at their meat ; and the priests never communicate till evening, for fear of profaning them. They do not think themselves obliged to fast, till they have children either married, or fit to be married ; which yet doth not secure them very long from these mortifications, because their youths marry at the age of ten years, and their girls younger.

There is no nation where excommunication carries greater terrors than among the Abyssins, which puts it in the power of the priests to abuse this religious temper of the people, as well as the authority they receive from

it; by excommunicating them, as they often do, for the least trifle in which their interest is concerned.

No country in the world is so full of churches, monasteries, and ecclesiastics, as Abyssinia; it is not possible to sing in one church or monastery without being heard by another, and perhaps by several. They sing the psalms of David, of which, as well as the other parts of the holy scriptures, they have a very exact translation in their own language, in which, though accounted canonical, the books of the Maccabees are omitted. The instruments of music made use of in their rites of worship are little drums, which they hang about their necks, and beat with both their hands; these are carried even by their chief men, and by the gravest of their ecclesiastics. They have sticks likewise with which they strike the ground, accompanying the blow with a motion of their whole bodies. They begin their concert by stamping their feet on the ground, and playing gently on their instruments; but when they have heated themselves by degrees, they leave off drumming, and fall to leaping, dancing, and clapping their hands; at the same time straining their voices to their utmost pitch, till, at length, they have no regard either to the tune or the pauses; and seem rather a riotous, than a religious assembly. For this manner of worship they cite the psalm of David; *O clap your hands all ye nations*. Thus they misapply the sacred writings, to defend practices yet more corrupt than those I have been speaking of.

They are possessed with a strange notion that they are the only true Christians in the world; as for us, they shunned us as heretics, and were under the greatest surprise at hearing us mention the Virgin Mary with the respect which is due to her; and told us, that we could not be entirely barbarians, since we were acquainted  
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with the mother of God. It plainly appears, that prepossessions so strong, which receive more strength from the ignorance of the people, have very little tendency to dispose them to a re-union with the Catholic church.

They have some opinions peculiar to themselves about purgatory, the creation of souls, and some of our mysteries. They repeat baptism every year, they retain the practice of circumcision, they observe the Sabbath, they abstain from all those sorts of flesh which are forbidden by the law: brothers espouse the wives of their brothers: and to conclude, they observe a great number of Jewish ceremonies.

Though they know the words which Jesus Christ appointed to be used in the administration of baptism, they have, without scruple, substituted others in their place, which makes the validity of their baptism and the reality of their Christianity very doubtful. They have a few names of saints the same with those in the Roman martyrology; but they often insert others, as Zama la Cota, the life of truth; Ongulari, the Evangelist; Afca Georgi, the mouth of St George.

To bring back this people into the inclosure of the Catholic church, from which they had been separated so many ages, was the sole view and intention with which we undertook so long and toilsome a journey; crossed so many seas, and passed so many deserts, with the utmost hazard of our lives. I am certain that we travelled more than seven thousand leagues before we arrived at our residence at Fremona.

We came to this place, anciently called Maigoga, on the twenty-first of June, as I have said before, and were obliged to continue there till November, because the Winter begins here in May, and its greatest rigour is from the middle of June to the middle of September.

The rains, that are almost continually falling in this season, make it impossible to go far from home, for the rivers overflow their banks ; and therefore, in a place like this, where there are neither bridges nor boats, are, if they are not fordable, utterly impassable. Some indeed have crossed them by means of a cord fastened on both sides of the water ; others tie two beams together, and placing themselves upon them, guide them as well as they can ; but this experiment is so dangerous, that it hath cost many of these bold adventurers their lives. This is not all the danger, for there is yet more to be apprehended from the unwholesomeness of the air, and the vapours which arise from the scorched earth at the fall of the first showers, than from the torrents and rivers. Even they who shelter themselves in houses find great difficulty to avoid the diseases that proceed from the noxious qualities of these vapours. From the beginning of June to that of September, it rains more or less every day. The morning is generally fair and bright, but about two hours after noon the sky is clouded, and immediately succeeds a violent storm, with thunder and lightning flashing in the most dreadful manner. While this lasts, which is commonly three or four hours, none go out of doors. The ploughman, upon the first appearance of it, unyokes his oxen, and betakes himself with them into covert. Travellers provide for their security in the neighbouring villages, or set up their tents : every body flies to some shelter, as well to avoid the unwholesomeness as the violence of the rain. The thunder is astonishing, and the lightning often destroys great numbers, a thing I can speak of from my own experience ; for it once flashed so near me, that I felt an uneasiness on that side for a long time after ; at the same time it killed three young children, and having run  
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round my room, went out and killed a man and woman three hundred paces off. When the storm is over, the sun shines out as before ; and one would not imagine it had rained, but that the ground appears deluged. Thus passes the Abyssinian winter, a dreadful season, in which the whole kingdom languishes with numberless diseases ; an affliction, which, however grievous, is yet equalled by the clouds of grasshoppers, which fly in such numbers from the desert, that the sun is hid and the sky darkened. Whenever this plague appears, nothing is seen through the whole region, but the most ghastly consternation ; or heard, but the most piercing lamentations ; for wherever they fall, that unhappy place is laid waste and ruined ; they leave not one blade of grass, nor any hopes of a harvest.

God, who often makes calamities subservient to his will, permitted this very affliction to be the cause of the conversion of many of the natives, who might have otherwise died in their errors ; for part of the country being ruined by the grasshoppers that year in which we arrived at Abyssinia, many who were forced to leave their habitations, and seek the necessaries of life in other places, came to that part of the land where some of our missionaries were preaching, and laid hold on that mercy which God seemed to have appointed for others.

As we could not go to court before November, we resolved, that we might not be idle, to preach and instruct the people in the country. In pursuance of this resolution, I was sent to a mountain, two days journey distant from Maigoga. The lord or governor of the place was a Catholic, and had desired missionaries ; but his wife had conceived an implacable aversion both from us and the Roman church, and almost all the inhabitants of that mountain were infected with the same prejudices as she. They

They had been persuaded, that the hosts which we consecrated and gave to the communicants, were mixed with juices strained from the flesh of a camel, a dog, a hare, and a swine, all creatures which the Abyssins look upon with abhorrence, believing them unclean, and forbidden to them, as they were to the Jews. We had no way of undeceiving them, and they fled from us whenever we approached. We carried with us our tent, our chalices, and ornaments, and all that was necessary for saying mass. The lord of the village, who, like other persons of quality throughout Ethiopia, lived on the top of a mountain, received us with very great civility. All that depended upon him had built their huts round about him; so that this place, compared with the other towns of Abyssinia, seems considerable. As soon as we arrived he sent us his compliments, with a present of a cow, which, among them, is a token of high respect. We had no way of returning this favour but by killing the cow, and sending a quarter smoking, with the gall, which amongst them is esteemed the most delicate part. I imagined, for some time, that the gall of animals was less bitter in this country than elsewhere; but upon tasting it, I found it more; and yet have frequently seen our servants drink large glasses of it with the same pleasure that we drink the most delicious wines.

We chose to begin our mission with the lady of the village, and hoped that her prejudice and obstinacy, however great, would in time yield to the advice and example of her husband, and that her conversion would have a great influence on the whole village: but having lost several days without being able to prevail upon her to hear us on any one point, we left the place, and went to another mountain, higher and better peopled. When we came to the village, on the top of it where the lord lived,

lived, we were surprised with the cries and lamentations of men that seemed to suffer, or apprehend, some dreadful calamity; and were told, upon enquiring the cause, that the inhabitants had been persuaded that we were the devil's missionaries, who came to seduce them from the true religion; that, foreseeing some of their neighbours would be ruined by the temptation, they were lamenting the misfortune which was coming upon them. When we began to apply ourselves to the work of the mission, we could not by any means persuade any but the lord and the priest to receive us into their houses; the rest were rough and untractable to that degree, that, after having converted six, we despaired of making any farther progress, and thought it best to remove to other towns where we might be better received.

We found, however, a more displeasing treatment at the next place, and had certainly ended our lives there, had we not been protected by the governor and the priest; who, though not reconciled to the Roman church, yet showed us the utmost civility. The governor informed us of a design against our lives, advised us not to go out after sunset, and gave us guards to protect us from the insults of the populace.

We made no long stay in a place where they stopped their ears against the voice of God, but returned to the foot of that mountain which we had left some days before. We were surrounded, as soon as we began to preach, with a multitude of auditors, who came either in expectation of being instructed, or from a desire of gratifying their curiosity; and God bestowed such a blessing upon our apostolical labours, that the whole village was converted in a short time. We then removed to another at the middle of the mountain, situated in a kind of natural parterre, or garden: the soil was fruitful, and the

the trees that shaded it from the scorching heat of the sun gave it an agreeable and refreshing coolness. We had here the convenience of improving the ardour and piety of our new converts; and at the same time of leading more into the way of the true religion. And indeed our success exceeded the utmost of our hopes: we had in a short time great numbers whom we thought capable of being admitted to the sacraments of baptism and the mass.

We erected our tent and placed our altar under some great trees, for the benefit of the shade; and every day, before sun rising, my companion and I began to catechise and instruct these new Catholics; and used our utmost endeavours to make them abjure their errors. When we were weary with speaking, we placed in ranks those who were sufficiently instructed, and passing through them with great vessels of water, baptized them according to the form prescribed by the church. As their number was very great, we cried aloud, those of this rank are named Peter, those of that rank Anthony: and did the same amongst the women, whom we separated from the men. We then confessed them, and admitted them to the communion. After mass we applied ourselves again to catechise, to instruct, and receive the renunciation of their errors, scarce allowing ourselves time to make a scanty meal, which we never did more than once a-day.

After some time had been spent here we removed to another town not far distant, and continued the same practice. Here I was accosted one day by an inhabitant of that place, where we had found the people so prejudiced against us, who desired to be admitted to confession. I could not forbear asking him some questions about those lamentations which we heard upon our entering into that place. He confessed with the utmost frankness and ingenuity,

genuity, that the priests and religious had given dreadful accounts both of us and of the religion we preached ; that the unhappy people were taught by them, that the curse of God attended us wheresoever we went ; that we were always followed by the grasshoppers, that pest of Abyssinia, which carried famine and destruction over all the country ; that he, seeing no grasshoppers following us when we passed by their village, began to doubt of the reality of what the priests had so confidently asserted, and was now convinced that the representation they made of us was calumny and imposture. This discourse gave us double pleasure, both as it proved that God had confuted the accusations of our enemies, and defended us against their malice without any efforts of our own ; and that the people who had shunned us with the strongest detestation, were yet lovers of truth, and came to us on their own accord.

Nothing could be more grossly absurd than the reproaches which the Abyssinian ecclesiastics aspersed us and our religion with. They had taken advantage of the calamity that happened the year of our arrival ; and the Abyssins, with all their wit, did not consider that they had often been distressed by the grasshoppers, before there came any Jesuits into the country ; and indeed before there were any in the world.

Whilst I was in these mountains, I went on Sundays and Saints days sometimes to one church and sometimes to another. One day I went out with a resolution not to go to a certain church, where I imagined there was no occasion for me ; but before I had gone far, I found myself pressed by a secret impulse to return back to that same church. I obeyed the influence, and discovered it to proceed from the mercy of God to three young children, who were destitute of all succour, and at the point

point of death. I found two very quickly in this miserable state. The mother had retired to some distance that she might not see them die; and when she saw me stop, came and told me that they had been obliged by want to leave the town they lived in, and were at length reduced to this dismal condition; that she had been baptized, but that the children had not. After I had baptized and relieved them, I continued my walk, reflecting with wonder on the mercy of God; and about evening discovered another infant, whose mother, evidently a Catholic, cried out to me to save her child, or at least, that if I could not preserve this uncertain and perishable life, I should give it another certain and permanent. I sent my servant to fetch water with the utmost expedition; for there was none near; and happily baptized the child before it expired.

Soon after this I returned to Fremona, and had great hopes of accompanying the patriarch to the court; but when we were almost setting out, received the command of the superior of the mission to stay at Fremona, with a charge of the house there, and of all the Catholics that were dispersed over the kingdom of Tigre; an employment very ill proportioned to my abilities. The house of Fremona has always been much regarded, even by those emperors who persecuted us. Sultan Segued annexed nine large manors to it for ever, which did not make us much more wealthy, because of the expensive hospitality which the great conflux of strangers obliged us to. The lands in Abyssinia yield but small revenues, unless the owners themselves set the value upon them, which we could not do.

The manner of letting farms in Abyssinia differs much from that of other countries: The farmer, when the harvest is almost ripe, invites the chumo or steward,  
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who is appointed to make an estimate of the value of each year's product, to his house, entertains him in the most agreeable manner he can; makes him a present; and then takes him to see his corn. If the chumo is pleased with the treat and present, he will give him a declaration, or writing, to witness that his ground, which afforded five or six sacks of corn, did not yield so many bushels; and even of this it is the custom to abate something: so that our revenue did not increase in proportion to our lands; and we found ourselves often obliged to buy corn, which, indeed, is not dear; for in fruitful years, forty or fifty measures, weighing each about twenty-two pounds, may be purchased for a crown.

Besides the particular charge I had of the house of Fremona, I was appointed the patriarch's grand Vicar through the whole kingdom of Tigre. I thought, that to discharge this office as I ought, it was incumbent on me to provide necessaries as well for the bodies as the souls of the converted Catholics. This labour was much increased by the famine which the grasshoppers had brought that year upon the country. Our house was perpetually surrounded by some of those unhappy people, whom want had compelled to abandon their habitations; and whose pale cheeks and meagre bodies were undeniable proofs of their misery and distress. All the relief I could possibly afford them could not prevent the death of such numbers, that their bodies filled the highways; and to increase our affliction, the wolves having devoured the carcases, and finding no other food, fell upon the living; their natural fierceness being so increased by hunger, that they dragged the children out of the very houses. I saw myself a troop of wolves tear a child of six years old in pieces, before I, or any one else, could come to its assistance.

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While I was entirely taken up with the duties of my ministry, the viceroy of Tigre received the commands of the emperor to search for the bones of Don Christopher de Gama. On this occasion, it may not be thought impertinent to give some account of the life and death of this brave and holy Portuguese, who, after having been successful in many battles, fell at last into the hands of the Moors, and completed that illustrious life by a glorious martyrdom.

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## C H A P. V.

*The adventures of the Portuguese, and the actions of Don Christopher de Gama in Ethiopia.*

**A**BOUT the beginning of the sixteenth century arose a Moor, near the Cape of Gardafui, who, by the assistance of the forces sent him from Moca by the Arabs and Turks, conquered almost all Abyssinia, and founded the kingdom of Adel. He was called Mahomet Gragné, or the lame. When he had ravaged Ethiopia fourteen years, and was master of the greatest part of it, the emperor David sent to implore succour of the king of Portugal, with a promise, that when those dominions were recovered which had been taken from him, he would entirely submit himself to the Pope, and resign the third part of his territories to the Portuguese. After many delays, occasioned by the great distance between Portugal and Abyssinia, and some unsuccessful attempts, king John the third, having made Don Stephen de Gama, son of the celebrated Don Vasco de Gama, viceroy of the



Indies, gave him orders to enter the Red sea in pursuit of the Turkish galleys, and to fall upon them wherever he found them, even in the port of Suez. The viceroy, in obedience to the king's commands, equipped a powerful fleet, went on board himself, and cruised about the coast without being able to discover the Turkish vessels. Enraged to find, that with this great preparation he should be able to effect nothing, he landed at Mazua four hundred Portuguese, under the command of Don Christopher de Gama, his brother : he was soon joined by some Abyssins, who had not yet forgot their allegiance to their sovereign ; and in his march up the country was met by the empress Helena, who received him as her deliverer. At first nothing was able to stand before the valour of the Portuguese. The Moors were driven from one mountain to another, and were dislodged even from those places which it seemed almost impossible to approach, even unmolested by the opposition of an enemy.

These successes seemed to promise a more happy event than that which followed them. It was now winter, a season in which, as the reader hath been already informed, it is almost impossible to travel in Ethiopia. The Portuguese unadvisedly engaged themselves in an enterprise, to march through the whole country, in order to join the emperor, who was then in the most remote part of his dominions. Mahomet, who was in possession of the mountains, being informed by his spies that the Portuguese were but four hundred, encamped in the plain of Ballut ; and sent a message to the general, that he knew the Abyssins had imposed on the king of Portugal, which, being acquainted with their treachery, he was not surprised at ; and that in compassion of the commander's youth, he would give him and his men, if they would return, free passage, and furnish them with necessaries ;

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that he might consult upon the matter, and depend upon his word ; reminding him, however, that it was not safe to refuse his offer.

The general presented the ambassador with a rich robe, and returned this gallant answer : “ That he, and his fellow-  
 “ soldiers were come with an intention to drive Mahomet  
 “ out of these countries which he had wrongfully usurp-  
 “ ed : that his present design was, instead of returning  
 “ back the way he came, as Mahomet advised, to open  
 “ himself a passage through the country of his enemies :  
 “ that Mahomet should rather think of determining  
 “ whether he would fight or yield up his ill-gotten terri-  
 “ tories, than of prescribing measures to him : that he  
 “ put his whole confidence in the omnipotence of God,  
 “ and the justice of his cause; and that, to shew how just  
 “ a sense he had of Mahomet’s kindness, he took the li-  
 “ berty of presenting him with a looking-glass and a  
 “ pair of pincers.”

This answer and the present so provoked Mahomet, who was at dinner when he received it, that he rose from table immediately to march against the Portuguese, imagining he should meet with no resistance ; and indeed any man, however brave, would have been of the same opinion ; for his forces consisted of fifteen thousand foot, besides a numerous body of cavalry ; and the Portuguese commander had but three hundred and fifty men, having lost eight in attacking some passes, and left forty at Mazua, to maintain an open intercourse with the viceroy of the Indies. This little troop of our countrymen were upon the declivity of a hill near a wood ; above them stood the Abyssins, who resolved to remain quiet spectators of the battle, and to declare themselves on that side which should be favoured with victory.

Mahomet began the attack with only ten horsemen, a-  
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gainst whom as many Portuguese were detached, who fired with so much exactness that nine of the Moors fell, and the tenth with great difficulty made his escape. This omen of good fortune gave the soldiers great encouragement; the action grew hot, and they came at length to a general battle; but the Moors, dismayed by the advantages our men had obtained at first, were half defeated before the fight. The great fire of our muskets and artillery broke them immediately. Mahomet preserved his own life not without difficulty; but did not lose his capacity with the battle. He had still a great number of troops remaining, which he rallied, and entrenched himself at Membret, a place naturally strong, with an intention to pass the winter there, and wait for succours.

The Portuguese, who were more desirous of glory than wealth, did not encumber themselves with plunder, but with the utmost expedition pursued their enemies, in hopes of cutting them entirely off. This expectation was too sanguine; they found them encamped in a place naturally almost inaccessible, and so well fortified, that it would be no less than extreme rashness to attack them. They therefore entrenched themselves on a hill over against the enemies camp; and, though victorious, were under great disadvantages. They see new troops arrive every day at the enemies camp, and their small number grew less continually; their friends at Mazua could not join them; they knew not how to procure provisions, and could put no confidence in the Abyssins; yet, recollecting the great things achieved by their countrymen, and depending on the divine protection, they made no doubt of surmounting all difficulties.

Mahomet on his part was not idle; he solicited the assistance of the Mahometan princes, pressed them with all the motives of religion, and obtained a reinforcement of

two thousand musqueteers from the Arabs, and a train of artillery from the Turks. Animated with these succours, he marched out of his trenches to enter those of the Portuguese, who received him with the utmost bravery, destroyed prodigious numbers of his men, and made many sallies with great vigour; but losing every day some of their small troops, and most of their officers being killed, it was easy to surround and force them.

Their general had already one arm broken, and his knee shattered with a musket-shot, which made him unable to repair to all those places where his presence was necessary to animate his foldiers. Valour was at length forced to submit to superiority of numbers; the enemy entered the camp, and put all to the sword. The general with ten more escaped the slaughter, and by means of their horses retreated to a wood, where they were soon discovered by a detachment sent in search of them, and brought to Mahomet, who was overjoyed to see his most formidable enemy in his power, and ordered him to take care of his uncle and nephew, who were wounded, telling him he should answer for their lives; and, upon their death, taxed him with hastening it. The brave Portuguese made no excuses, but told him he came thither to destroy Mahometans, and not to save them. Mahomet enraged at this language, ordered a stone to be put on his head; and exposed this great man to the insults and reproaches of the whole army. After this they inflicted various kinds of tortures on him, which he endured with incredible resolution, and without uttering the least complaint, praising the mercy of God who had ordained him to suffer in such a cause.

Mahomet, at last satisfied with cruelty, made an offer of sending him to the viceroy of the Indies, if he would turn Mussulman. The hero took fire at this proposal, and an-

answered with the highest indignation, that nothing should make him forsake his heavenly Master to follow an impostor; and continued in the severest terms to vilify their false prophet, till Mahomet struck off his head.

Nor did the resentment of Mahomet end here; he divided his body into quarters, and sent them to different places. The Catholics gathered the remains of this glorious martyr and interred them. Every Moor that passed by threw a stone upon his grave, and raised in time such an heap, as I found it difficult to remove when I went in search of those precious relics.

What I have here related of the death of Don Christopher de Gama, I was told by an old man who was an eye-witness of it. And there is a tradition in the country, that in the place where his head fell, a fountain sprung up of wonderful virtue, which cured many diseases otherwise past remedy.

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## C H A P. VI.

*Mahomet continues the war, and is killed. The stratagem of Peter Leon.*

**M**AHOMET, that he might make the best use of his victory, ranged over a great part of Abyssinia, in search of the emperor Claudius, who was then in the kingdom of Dambia. All places submitted to the Mahometan, whose insolence increased every day with his power; and nothing, after the defeat of the Portuguese, was supposed able to put a stop to the progress of his arms.

The soldiers of Portugal, having lost their chief, resorted to the emperor, (who, though young, promised great things), and told him, that since their own general was dead they would accept of none but himself. He received them with great kindness; and hearing of Don Christopher de Gama's misfortune, could not forbear honouring with some tears the memory of a man who had come so far to his succour, and lost his life in his cause.

The Portuguese resolved at any rate to revenge the fate of their general, desired the emperor to assign them the post opposite to Mahomet, which was willingly granted them. That king flushed with his victories, and imagining to fight was undoubtedly to conquer, sought all occasions of giving the Abyssins battle. The Portuguese, who desired nothing more than to re-establish their reputation by revenging the affront put upon them by the late defeat, advised the emperor to lay hold on the first opportunity of fighting. Both parties joined battle with equal fury. The Portuguese directed all their force against that part where Mahomet was posted. Peter Leon, who had been servant to the general, singled the king out among the crowd, and shot him into the head with his musket. Mahomet, finding himself wounded, would have retired out of the battle, and was followed by Peter Leon, till he fell down dead: the Portuguese alighting from his horse, cut off one of his ears. The Moors being now without a leader continued the fight but a little time, and at length fled different ways in the utmost disorder; the Abyssins pursued them, and made a prodigious slaughter. One of them seeing the king's body on the ground, cut off his head, and presented it to the emperor; the sight of it filled the whole camp with acclamations; every one applauded the valour and good fortune of the Abyssin, and no reward was thought great enough for

for so important a service. Peter Leon, having stood by some time, asked, whether the king had but one ear? if he had two, says he, it seems likely that the man who killed him cut off one, and keeps it as a proof of his exploit. The Abyssin stood confused, and the Portuguese produced the ear out of his pocket: every one commended the stratagem, and the emperor commanded the Abyssin to restore all the presents he had received, and delivered them with many more to Peter Leon.

I imagined the reader would not be displeased to be informed who this man was, whose precious remains were searched for by a viceroy of Tigre, at the command of the emperor himself. The commission was directed to me, nor did I ever receive one that was more welcome on many accounts. I had contracted an intimate friendship with the Count de Vidigueira, viceroy of the Indies, and had been desired by him, when I took my leave of him upon going to Melinda, to inform myself where his relation was buried, and to send him some of his relics.

The viceroy, son-in-law to the emperor, with whom I was joined in the commission, gave me many distinguishing proofs of his affection to me, and of his zeal for the Catholic religion. It was a journey of fifteen days, thro' a part of the country possessed by the Gallas, which made it necessary to take troops with us for our security; yet, notwithstanding this precaution, the hazard of the expedition appeared so great, that our friends bade us farewell with tears, and looked upon us as destined to unavoidable destruction. The viceroy had given orders to some troops to join us on the road, so that our little army grew stronger as we advanced. There is no making long marches in this country; an army here is a great city well peopled, and under exact government; they take their wives and children with them, and the camp

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hath its streets, its market-places, its churches, courts of justice, judges, and civil officers.

Before they set forward, they advertise the governors of provinces through which they are to pass, that they may take care to furnish what is necessary for the subsistence of the troops. These governors give notice to the adjacent places, that the army is to march that way on such a day, and that they are assessed such a quantity of bread, beer, and cows. The peasants are very exact in supplying their quota, being obliged to pay double the value in case of failure, and very often, when they have produced their full share, they are told, that they have been deficient, and condemned to buy their peace with a large fine.

When the providore has received these contributions, he divides them according to the number of persons, and the want they are in: the proportion they observe in this distribution, is twenty pots of beer, ten of mead, and one cow, to an hundred loaves. The chief officers and persons of note carry their own provisions with them, which I did too, though I afterwards found the precaution unnecessary; for I had often two or three cows more than I wanted, which I bestowed on those whose allowance fell short.

The Abyssins are not only obliged to maintain the troops in their march, but to repair the roads, to clear them, especially in the forests, of brambles and thorns, and by all means possible to facilitate the passage of the army. They are by long custom extremely ready at encamping. As soon as they come to a place they think convenient to halt at, the officer that commands the vanguard, marks out with his pike the place for the king's, or viceroy's tent; every one knows his rank, and how  
much



much ground he shall take up ; so the camp is formed in an instant.

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## C H A P. VII.

*They discover the relics. Their apprehension of the Gallees.  
The Author converts a criminal, and procures his pardon.*

**W**E took with us an old Moor, so enfeebled with age that they were forced to carry him ; he had seen, as I have said, the sufferings and death of Don Christopher de Gama ; and a Christian, who had often heard all those passages related to his father, and knew the place where the uncle and nephew of Mahomet were buried, and where they interred one quarter of the Portuguese martyr. We often examined these two men, and always apart ; they agreed in every circumstance of their relations, and confirmed us in our belief of them, by leading us to the place, where we took up the uncle and nephew of Mahomet, as they had described. With no small labour we removed the heap of stones, which the Moors, according to their custom, had thrown upon the body, and discovered the treasure we came in search of. Not many paces off was the fountain where they had thrown his head, with a dead dog, to raise a greater aversion in the Moors. I gathered the teeth and the lower jaw. No words can express the extacies I was transported with at seeing the relics of so great a man, and reflecting, that it had pleased God to make me the instrument of their preservation ; so that one day, if our holy Father the Pope shall be so pleased, they may receive

ceive the veneration of the faithful. All burst into tears at the sight. We indulged a melancholy pleasure in reflecting what that great man had achieved for the deliverance of Abyssinia from the yoke and tyranny of the Moors; the voyages he had undertaken; the battles he had fought; the victories he had won; and the cruel and tragical death he had suffered. Our first moments were so entirely taken up with these reflections, that we were incapable of considering the danger we were in of being immediately surrounded by the Gallees: but as soon as we awaked to that thought, we contrived to retreat as fast as we could. Our expedition, however, was not so great, but we saw them on the top of a mountain ready to pour down upon us. The viceroy attended us closely with his little army, but had been probably not much more secure than we, his force consisting only of foot, and the Gallees entirely of horse, a service at which they are very expert. Our apprehensions at last proved to be needless, for the troops we saw were of a nation at that time in alliance with the Abyssinians.

Not caring, after this alarm, to stay longer here, we set out on our march back; and in our return passed through a village, where two men, who had murdered a domestic of the viceroy, lay under an arrest; as they had been taken in the fact. The law of the country allowed that they might have been executed the same hour, but the viceroy having ordered that their death should be deferred till his return, delivered them to the relations of the dead, to be disposed of as they should think proper. They made great rejoicings all the night, on account of having it in their power to revenge their relation; and the unhappy criminals had the mortification of  
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standing by to behold this jollity, and the preparations made for their execution,

The Abyssins have three different ways of putting a criminal to death : One way is to bury him to the neck, to lay a heap of brambles upon his head, and to cover the whole with a great stone : Another is to beat him to death with cudgels : A third, and the most usual, is to stab him with their lances. The nearest relation gives the first thrust, and is followed by all the rest, according to their degrees of kindred ; and they to whom it does not happen to strike while the offender is alive, dip the points of their lances in his blood, to shew that they partake in the revenge. It frequently happens that the relations of the criminal are for taking the like vengeance for his death, and sometimes pursue this resolution so far, that all those who had any share in the prosecution lose their lives.

I being informed that these two men were to die, wrote to the viceroy for his permission to exhort them, before they entered into eternity, to unite themselves to the church. My request being granted, I applied myself to the men, and found one of them so obstinate that he would not even afford me an hearing, and died in his error. The other I found more flexible, and wrought upon him so far, that he came to my tent to be instructed. After my care of his eternal welfare had met with such success, I could not forbear attempting something for his temporal ; and by my endeavours matters were so accommodated, that the relations were willing to grant his life on condition he paid a certain number of cows, or the value. Their first demand was of a thousand, he offered them five ; they at last were satisfied with twelve, provided they were paid upon the spot. The Abyssins are extremely charitable, and the women, on such occasions, will give even

even their necklaces and pendants ; so that, with what I gave myself, I collected in the camp enough to pay the fine, and all parties were content.

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### C H A P. VIII.

*The viceroy is offended by his wife. He complains to the emperor, but without redress. He meditates a revolt, raises an army, and makes an attempt to seize upon the Author.*

**W**E continued our march, and the viceroy having been advertised that some troops had appeared in an hostile manner on the frontiers, went against them. I parted from him, and arrived at Fremona, where the Portuguese expected me with great impatience. I reposed the bones of Don Christopher de Gama in a decent place, and sent them the May following to the viceroy of the Indies, together with his arms, which had been presented me by a gentleman of Abyssinia, and a picture of the Virgin Mary, which that gallant Portuguese always carried about him.

The viceroy, during all the time he was engaged in this expedition, heard very provoking accounts of the bad conduct of his wife, and complained of it to the emperor ; entreating him either to punish his daughter himself, or to permit him to deliver her over to justice, that, if she was falsely accused, she might have an opportunity of putting her own honour and her husband's out of dispute. The emperor took little notice of his son-in-law's remonstrances ; and the truth is, the viceroy was somewhat

somewhat more nice in that matter than the people of rank in this country generally are. There are laws, it is true, against adultery, but they seem to have been made only for the meaner people; and the women of quality, especially the Ouzoros, or ladies of the blood-royal, are so much above them, that their husbands have not even the liberty of complaining; and certainly, to support injuries of this kind without complaining, requires a degree of patience which few men can boast of. The viceroy's virtue was not proof against this temptation; he fell into a deep melancholy, and resolved to be revenged on his father-in-law. He knew the present temper of the people, that those of the greatest interest and power were by no means pleased with the changes of religion, and only waited for a fair opportunity to revolt; and that these discontents were every where heightened by the monks and clergy. Encouraged by these reflections, he was always talking of the just reasons he had to complain of the emperor; and gave them sufficient room to understand, that if they would appear in his party he would declare himself for the ancient religion, and put himself at the head of those who should take arms in the defence of it. The chief and almost the only thing that hindered him from raising a formidable rebellion, was the mutual distrust they entertained of one another; each fearing, that as soon as the emperor should publish an act of grace, or general amnesty, the greatest part would lay down their arms and embrace it; and this suspicion was imagined more reasonable of the viceroy than of any other. Notwithstanding this difficulty, the priests, who interested themselves much in this revolt, ran with the utmost earnestness from church to church, levelling their sermons against the emperor and the Catholic religion; and that they might have the better success in putting a stop to all ecclesiastical

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cal innovations, they came to a resolution of putting all the missionaries to the sword ; and that the viceroy might have no room to hope for a pardon, they obliged him to give the first wound to him that should fall into his hands.

As I was the nearest, and by consequence the most exposed, an order was immediately issued out for apprehending me, it being thought a good expedient to seize me, and force me to build a citadel, into which they might retreat, if they should happen to meet with a defeat. The viceroy wrote to me, to desire that I would come to him, he having, as he said, an affair of the highest importance to communicate.

The frequent assemblies which the viceroy held had already been much talked of ; and I had received advice that he was ready for a revolt, and that my death was to be the first signal of an open war. Knowing that the viceroy had made many complaints of the treatment he received from his father-in-law, I made no doubt that he had some ill design in hand ; and yet could scarce persuade myself, that after all the tokens of friendship I had received from him, he would enter into any measures for destroying me. While I was yet in suspense, I dispatched a faithful servant to the viceroy with my excuse for disobeying him ; and gave the messenger strict orders to observe all that passed, and bring me an exact account.

This affair was of too great moment not to engage my utmost endeavours to arrive at the most certain knowledge of it, and to advertise the court of the danger. I wrote therefore to one of our fathers, who was then near the emperor, the best intelligence I could obtain of all that had passed of the reports that were spread through all this part of the empire, and of the disposition which I discovered

discovered in the people to a general defection; telling him, however, that I could not yet believe that the viceroy, who had honoured me with his friendship, and of whom I never had any thought but how to oblige him, could now have so far changed his sentiments as to take away my life.

The letters which I received by my servant, and the assurances he gave that I need fear nothing, for that I was never mentioned by the viceroy without great marks of esteem, so far confirmed me in my error, that I went from Fremona with a resolution to see him. I did not reflect that a man who could fail in his duty to his king, his father-in-law, and his benefactor, might without scruple do the same to a stranger, though distinguished as his friend; and thus sanguine and unsuspecting continued my journey, still receiving intimation from all parts to take care of myself. At length, when I was within a few days journey of the viceroy, I received a billet in more plain and express terms than any thing I had been told yet; charging me with extreme imprudence in putting myself into the hands of those men who had undoubtedly sworn to cut me off.

I began upon this to distrust the sincerity of the viceroy's professions, and resolved, upon the receipt of another letter from the viceroy, to return directly. In this letter, having excused himself for not waiting for my arrival, he desired me, in terms very strong and pressing, to come forward, and stay for him at his own house; assuring me, that he had given such orders for my entertainment, as should prevent my being tired with living there. I imagined at first that he had left some servants to provide for my reception; but being advertised at the same time, that there was no longer any doubt of the certainty of his revolt, that the Gallees were engaged to come  
to

to his assistance, and that he was gone to sign a treaty with them, I was no longer in suspense what measures to take, but returned to Fremona.

Here I found a letter from the emperor which prohibited me to go out ; and the orders which he had sent through all these parts, directing them to arrest me wherever I was found, and to hinder me from proceeding on my journey. These orders came too late to contribute to my preservation ; and this prince's goodness had been in vain, if God, whose protection I have often had experience of in my travels, had not been my conductor in this emergency.

The viceroy, hearing that I was returned to my residence, did not discover any concern or chagrin as at a disappointment ; for such was his privacy and dissimulation, that the most penetrating could never form any conjecture that could be depended on about his designs, till every thing was ready for the execution of them. My servant, a man of wit, was surprised as well as every body else ; and I can ascribe to nothing but a miracle, my escape from so many snares as he laid to entrap me.

There happened, during this perplexity of my affairs, an accident of small consequence in itself, which yet I think deserves to be mentioned, as it shews the credulity and ignorance of the Abyssins. I received a visit from a religious, who passed, though he was blind, for the most learned person in all that country : he had the whole scriptures in his memory, but seemed to have been at more pains to retain than understand them ; as he talked much, he often took occasion to quote them, and did it almost always improperly. Having invited him to sup and pass the night with me, I set before him some excellent mead, which he liked so well as to drink somewhat beyond the bounds of exact temperance. Next day, to  
make



make some return for this entertainment, he took upon him to divert me with some of those stories which the Monks amuse simple people with ; and told me of a devil that haunted a fountain, and used to make it his employment to plague the Monks that came thither to fetch water ; and continued his malice, till he was converted by the founder of their order, who found him no very stubborn proselyte till they came to the point of circumcision. The devil was unhappily prepossessed with a strong aversion from being circumcised, which however, by much persuasion, he at last agreed to ; and afterwards taking a religious habit, died ten years after with great signs of sanctity. He added another history of a famous Abyssinian Monk who killed a devil two hundred feet high, and only four feet thick, that ravaged all the country. The peasants had a great desire to throw the dead carcase from the top of the rock, but could not with all their force remove it from the place ; but the Monk drew it after him with all imaginable ease, and pushed it down. This story was followed by another, of a young devil that became a religious of the famous monastery of Aba-Gatima. The good father would have favoured me with more relations of the same kind, if I had been in the humour to have heard them ; but, interrupting him, I told him that all these relations confirmed what we had found by experience, that the Monks of Abyssinia were no improper company for the devil.



## C H A P. IX.

*The viceroy is defeated and hanged. The Author narrowly escapes being poisoned.*

**I** DID not stay long at Fremona, but left that town and the province of Tigre, and soon found that I was very happy in that resolution; for scarce had I left the place before the viceroy came in person to put me to death; who, not finding me as he expected, resolved to turn all his vengeance against the father Gaspard Pace, a venerable man, who was grown grey in the missions of Ethiopia, and five other missionaries newly arrived from the Indies. His design was to kill them all at one time without suffering any to escape. He therefore sent for them all, but one happily being sick, another staid to attend him: to this they owed their lives; for the viceroy, finding but four of them, sent them back, telling them he would see them all together. The fathers having been already told of his revolt, and of the pretences he made use of to give it credit, made no question of his intent to massacre them, and contrived their escape so that they got safely out of his power.

The viceroy, disappointed in this scheme, vented all his rage upon father James, whom the Patriarch had given him as his confessor. The good man was carried, bound hand and foot, into the middle of the camp; the viceroy gave the first stab in the throat, and all the rest struck him with their lances, and dipped their weapons in his blood, promising each other that they would never accept of any act of oblivion, or terms of peace, by which the Catholic religion was not abolished throughout the empire,

pire, and all those who professed it either banished or put to death. They then ordered all the beads, images, crosses, and relics, which the Catholics made use of, to be thrown into the fire.

The anger of God was now ready to fall upon his head for these daring and complicated crimes. The emperor had already confiscated all his goods, and given the government of the kingdom of Tigre to Keba Christos, a good Catholic, who was sent with a numerous army to take possession of it. As both armies were in search of each other, it was not long before they came to a battle. The revolted viceroy, Tecla Georgis, placed all his confidence in the Galles, his auxiliaries. Keba Christos, who had marched with incredible expedition to hinder the enemy from making any entrenchments, would willingly have refreshed his men a few days before the battle, but finding the foe vigilant, thought it not proper to stay till he was attacked, and therefore resolved to make the first onset. Then presenting himself before his army without arms, and with his head uncovered, assured them that such was his confidence in God's protection of those that engaged in so just a cause, that though he were in that condition, and alone, he would attack his enemies.

The battle began immediately, and of all the troops of Tecla Georgis, only the Galles made any resistance; the rest abandoned him without striking a blow. The unhappy commander seeing all his squadrons broken, and three hundred of the Galles with twelve ecclesiastics killed on the spot, hid himself in a cave, where he was found three days afterwards, with his favourite and a Monk. When they took him, they cut off the heads of his two companions in the field, and carried him to the emperor. The procedure against him was not long, and he was con-

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demned

demned to be burnt alive. Then imagining, that if he embraced the Catholic faith, the intercession of the missionaries, with the entreaties of his wife and children, might procure him a pardon, he desired a Jesuit to hear his confession, and abjured his errors. The emperor was inflexible both to the entreaties of his daughter and the tears of his grand-children; and all that could be obtained of him was, that the sentence should be mollified, and changed into a condemnation to be hanged. Tecla Georgis renounced his abjuration, and at his death persisted in his errors. Adero his sister, who had borne the greatest share in his revolt, was hanged on the same tree fifteen days after.

I arrived not long after at the emperor's court, and had the honour of kissing his hands, but staid not long in a place where no missionary ought to linger, unless obliged by the most pressing necessity; but being ordered by my superiors into the kingdom of Damot, I set out on my journey; and on the road was in great danger of losing my life by my curiosity of tasting an herb which I found near a brook; and which, though I had often heard of it, I did not know. It bears a great resemblance to our radishes, the leaf and colour were beautiful, and the taste not unpleasant. It came into my mind when I began to chew it, that perhaps it might be that venemous herb against which no antidote hath yet been found; but persuading myself afterwards that my fears were merely chimerical, I continued to chew it, till a man accidentally meeting me, and seeing me with a handful of it, cried out to me that I was poisoned. I had happily not swallowed any of it, and throwing out what I had in my mouth, I returned God thanks for this instance of his protection.

I crossed the Nile the first time in my journey to the  
kingdom

kingdom of Damot. My passage brought into my mind all that I had read either in ancient or modern writers of this celebrated river. I recollected the great expences at which some emperors had endeavoured to gratify their curiosity of knowing the sources of this mighty stream, which nothing but their little acquaintance with the Abyssins made so difficult to be found. I passed the river, within two days journey of its head, near a wide plain, which is entirely laid under water when it begins to overflow the banks. Its channel is even here so wide, that a ball shot from a musket can scarce reach the farther bank. Here is neither boat nor bridge; and the river is so full of hippopotames, or river-horses, and crocodiles, that it is impossible to swim over without danger of being devoured. The only way of passing it is upon flotes, which they guide as well as they can with long poles. Nor is even this way without danger; for these destructive animals overturn the flotes, and tear the passengers in pieces. The river-horse, which lives only on grass and branches of trees, is satisfied with killing the men; but the crocodile, being more voracious, feeds upon the carcases.

But since I am arrived at the banks of this renowned river, which I have passed and repassed so many times; and since all that I have read of the nature of its waters, and the causes of its overflowing, is full of fables, the reader may not be displeased to find here an account of what I saw myself, or was told by the inhabitants.

## C H A P. X.

*A description of the Nile.*

**T**HE Nile, which the natives call Abavi, that is the father of waters, rises first in Sacala, a province of the kingdom of Goiana, which is one of the most fruitful and agreeable of all the Abyssinian dominions. This province is inhabited by a nation of the Agaus, who call themselves Christians, but by daily intermarriages they have allied themselves to the Pagan Agaus, and adopted all their customs and ceremonies. These two nations are very numerous, fierce, and unconquerable, inhabiting a country full of mountains, which are covered with woods, and hollowed by Nature into vast caverns, many of which are capable of containing several numerous families, and hundreds of cows. To these recesses the Agaus betake themselves when they are driven out of the plain, where it is almost impossible to find them, and certain ruin to pursue them. This people increases extremely, every man being allowed so many wives as he hath hundreds of cows; and it is seldom that the hundreds are required to be complete.

In the eastern part of this kingdom, on the declivity of a mountain, whose descent is so easy that it seems a beautiful plain, is that source of the Nile which has been sought after at so much expence of labour, and about which such variety of conjectures hath been formed without success. This spring, or rather these two springs, are two holes, each about two feet diameter, a stone's-cast distant from each other. The one is but about five feet and an half in depth, at least we could not get our plummet farther,

farther, perhaps because it was stopped by roots, for the whole place is full of trees. Of the other, which is somewhat less, with a line of ten feet we could find no bottom, and were assured by the inhabitants that none ever had been found. It is believed here that these springs are the vents of a great subterraneous lake ; and they have this circumstance to favour their opinion, that the ground is always moist, and so soft that the water boils up under foot as one walks upon it : this is more visible after rains, for then the ground yields and sinks so much, that I believe it is chiefly supported by the roots of trees that are interwoven one with another. Such is the ground round about these fountains. At a little distance to the south is a village named Guix, through which the way lies to the top of the mountain, from whence the traveller discovers a vast extent of land, which appears like a deep valley, though the mountain rises so imperceptibly, that those who go up or down it are scarce sensible of any declivity.

On the top of this mountain is a little hill which the idolatrous Agaus have in great veneration. Their priest calls them together at this place once a year ; and having sacrificed a cow, throws the head into one of the springs of the Nile ; after which ceremony, every one sacrifices a cow or more according to their different degrees of wealth or devotion. The bones of these cows have already formed two mountains of considerable height, which afford a sufficient proof that these nations have always paid their adorations to this famous river. They eat these sacrifices with great devotion, as flesh consecrated to their deity. Then the priest anoints himself with the grease and tallow of the cows, and sits down on an heap of straw on the top and in the middle of a pile which is prepared. They set fire to it, and the whole heap is consumed.

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sumed without any injury to the priest ; who, while the fire continues, harangues the standers by, and confirms them in their present ignorance and superstition. When the pile is burnt, and the discourse at an end, every one makes a large present to the priest, which is the grand design of this religious mockery.

To return to the course of the Nile. Its waters, after the first rise, run to the eastward for about a musket-shot ; then turning to the north, continue hidden in the grass and weeds for about a quarter of a league, and discover themselves for the first time among some rocks ; a sight not to be enjoyed without some pleasure by those who have read the fabulous accounts of this stream delivered by the ancients, and the vain conjectures and reasonings which have been formed upon its original, the nature of its water, its cataracts, and its inundations, all which we are now entirely acquainted with, and eye-witnesses of.

Many interpreters of the holy Scriptures pretend, that Gihon, mentioned in Genesis, is no other than the Nile, which encompasseth all Ethiopia ; but as the Gihon had its source from the terrestrial Paradise, and we know that the Nile rises in the country of the Agaus, it will be found, I believe, no small difficulty to conceive how the same river could arise from two sources so distant from each other ; or how a river, from so low a source, should spring up and appear in a place perhaps the highest in the world : for if we consider, that Arabia and Palestine are in their situation almost level with Egypt ; that Egypt is as low, if compared with the kingdom of Dambia, as the deepest valley in regard of the highest mountain ; that the province of Sacala is yet more elevated than Dambia ; that the waters of the Nile must either pass under the Red sea, or take a great compass about, we shall find it hard to conceive such an attractive power in the



the earth as may be able to make the waters rise through the obstruction of so much sand, from places so low, to the most lofty region of Ethiopia.

But leaving these difficulties, let us go on to describe the course of the Nile. It rolls away from its source with so inconsiderable a current, that it appears unlikely to escape being dried up by the hot season, but soon receiving an increase from the Gemma, the Keltu, the Bransu, and other less rivers, it is of such a breadth in the plain of Boad, which is not above three days journey from its source, that a ball shot from a musket will scarce fly from one bank to the other. Here it begins to run northwards, deflecting, however, a little towards the east, for the space of nine or ten leagues; and then enters the so much talked of lake of Dambia, called by the natives Barhar Sena, the resemblance of the sea; or Bahar Dambia, the sea of Dambia. It crosses this lake only at one end, with so violent a rapidity, that the waters of the Nile may be distinguished through all the passage, which is six leagues. Here begins the greatness of the Nile. Fifteen miles farther, in the land of Alata, it rushes precipitately from the top of a high rock, and forms one of the most beautiful water-falls in the world. I passed under it without being wet, and resting myself there for the sake of the coolness, was charmed with a thousand delightful rainbows which the sun beams painted on the water in all their shining and lively colours. The fall of this mighty stream, from so great an height, makes a noise that may be heard to a considerable distance; but I could not observe that the neighbouring inhabitants were at all deaf. I conversed with several, and was as easily heard by them, as I heard them. The mist, that rises from this fall of water, may be seen much farther than the noise can be heard. After this cataract, the Nile again collects its scattered

scattered stream among the rocks, which seem to be disjointed in this place only to afford it a passage. They are so near each other, that, in my time, a bridge of beams, on which the whole Imperial army passed, was laid over them. Sultan Segued hath since built here a bridge of one arch in the same place, for which purpose he procured masons from India. This bridge, which is the first the Abyssins have seen on the Nile, very much facilitates a communication between the provinces, and encourages commerce among the inhabitants of his empire.

Here the river alters its course, and passes through many various kingdoms. On the east it leaves Begmeder, or the land of sheep, so called from great numbers that are bred there; Beg, in that language, signifying sheep, and Meder a country. It then waters the kingdoms of Ambara, Olaça, Choaa, and Damot, which lie on the left side, and the kingdom of Goiama, which it bounds on the right; forming by its windings a kind of peninsula. Then entering Bezamb, a province of the kingdom of Damot, and Gamarcausa, part of Goiama, it returns within a short days journey of its spring; though to pursue it through all its mazes, and accompany it round the kingdom of Goiama, is a journey of twenty-nine days. So far, and a few days journey farther, this river confines itself to Abyssinia, and then passes into the bordering countries of Fazulo and Ombarca.

These vast regions we have little knowledge of. They are inhabited by nations entirely different from the Abyssins; their hair is like that of the other blacks, short and curled. In the year 1615, Raffela Christos, lieutenant-general to Sultan Segued, entered those kingdoms with his army in an hostile manner; but being able to get no intelligence of the condition of the people, and  
astonished

astonished at their unbounded extent, he returned without daring to attempt any thing.

As the empire of the Abyssins terminates at these deserts, and as I have followed the course of the Nile no farther, I here leave it to range over barbarous kingdoms, and convey wealth and plenty into Egypt, which owes to the annual inundations of this river its envied fertility. I know not any thing of the rest of its passage, but that it receives great increases from many other rivers; that it has several cataracts, like the first already described, and that few fish are to be found in it; which scarcity, doubtless, is to be attributed to the river-horses, and crocodiles, which destroy the weaker inhabitants of these waters, and something may be allowed to the cataracts, it being difficult for fish to fall so far without being killed.

Although some who have travelled in Asia and Africa have given the world their descriptions of the crocodile, and hippopotamus, or river-horse; yet, as the Nile has at least as great numbers of each as any river in the world, I cannot but think my account of it would be imperfect, without some particular mention of these animals.

The crocodile is very ugly, having no proportion between his length and thickness. He hath short feet, a wide mouth, with two rows of sharp teeth standing wide from each other; a brown skin, so fortified with scales, even to his nose, that a musket-ball cannot penetrate it. His sight is extremely quick, and at a great distance. In the water he is daring and fierce, and will seize on any that are so unfortunate as is to be found by him bathing; who, if they escape with life, are almost sure to leave some limb in his mouth. Neither I, nor any with whom I have conversed about the crocodile, have ever seen him  
weep;

weep; and therefore, I take the liberty of ranking all that hath been told us of his tears amongst the fables which are only proper to amuse children.

The hippopotamus, or river-horse, grazes upon the land, and brouzes on the shrubs, yet is no less dangerous than the crocodile. He is the size of an ox, of a brown colour, without any hair. His tail is short, his neck long, and his head of an enormous bigness; his eyes are small, his mouth wide, with teeth half a foot long; he hath two tusks like those of a wild boar, but larger; his legs are short, and his feet part into four toes. It is easy to observe from this description, that he hath no resemblance of an horse; and indeed nothing could give occasion to the name, but some likeness in his ears, and his neighing and snorting like an horse when he is provoked, or raises his head out of water. His hide is so hard, that a musket fired close to him can only make a slight impression; and the best tempered lances pushed forcibly against him are either blunted or shivered; unless the assailant has the skill to make his thrust at certain parts which are more tender. There is great danger in meeting him; and the best way is, upon such an accident, to step aside, and let him pass by. The flesh of this animal doth not differ from that of a cow, except that it is blacker and harder to digest.

The ignorance which we have hitherto been in of the original of the Nile, hath given many authors an opportunity of presenting us very gravely with their various systems and conjectures about the nature of its waters, and the reason of its overflows.

It is easy to observe how many empty hypothesis and idle reasonings the phaenomenons of this river have put mankind to the expence of. Yet there are people so bigotted to antiquity, as not to pay any regard to the relation

relation of travellers who have been upon the spot, and by the evidence of their eyes can confute all that the ancients may have written. It was difficult, it was even impossible, to arrive at the source of the Nile, by tracing its channel from the mouth; and all whoever attempted it, having been stopped by the cataracts, and imagining none that followed them could pass farther, have taken the liberty of entertaining us with their own fictions.

It is to be remembered likewise, that neither the Greeks nor Romans, from whom we have received all our information, ever carried their arms into this part of the world, or ever heard of multitudes of nations that dwell upon the banks of this vast river; that the countries where the Nile rises, and those through which it runs, have no inhabitants but what are savage and uncivilized; that before they could arrive at its head, they must surmount the insuperable obstacles of impassable forests, inaccessible cliffs, and deserts crowded with beasts of prey, fierce by nature, and raging for want of sustenance. Yet if they who endeavoured with so much ardour to discover the spring of this river, had landed at Mazna on the coast of the Red sea, and marched a little more to the south than the south-west, they might perhaps have gratified their curiosity at less expence; and in about twenty days might enjoyed the desired sight of the sources of the Nile.

But this discovery was reserved for the invincible bravery of our noble countrymen; who, not discouraged by the dangers of a navigation in seas never explored before, have subdued kingdoms and empires, where the Greek and Roman greatness, where the names of Cæsar and Alexander were never heard of; who first steered an European ship into the Red sea, through the gulf of Arabia and the Indian ocean; who have demolished the airy fa-  
brics

brics of renowned hypothesis, and detected those fables which the ancients rather chose to invent of the sources of the Nile, than to confess their ignorance. I cannot help suspending my narration, to reflect a little on the ridiculous speculations of those swelling philosophers, whose arrogance would prescribe laws to nature, and subject those astonishing effects which we behold daily, to their idle reasonings and chimerical rules. Presumptuous imagination ! that has given being to such numbers of books; and patrons to so many various opinions about the overflows of the Nile. Some of these theorists have been pleased to declare it as their favourite notion; that this inundation is caused by high winds which stop the current, and so force the water to rise above its banks, and spread over all Egypt. Others pretend a subterraneous communication between the ocean and the Nile, and that the sea, being violently agitated, swells the river. Many have imagined themselves blessed with the discovery, when they have told us, that this mighty flood proceeds from the melting of snow on the mountains of Ethiopia, without reflecting, that this opinion is contrary to the received notion of all the ancients, who believed that the heat was so excessive between the tropics, that no inhabitant could live there. So much snow and so great heat are never met with in the same region. And indeed I never saw snow in Abyssinia, except on mount Semen in the kingdom of Tigre, very remote from the Nile; and on Namera, which is indeed not far distant, but where there never falls snow sufficient to wet the foot of the mountain when it is melted.

To the immense labours and fatigues of the Portuguese, mankind is indebted for the knowledge of the real cause of these inundations, so great and so regular. Their observations inform us, that Abyssinia, where the Nile rises;

ses, and waters vast tracts of land, is full of mountains; and in its natural situation much higher than Egypt; that all the winter, from June to September, no day is without rain; that the Nile receives in its course all the rivers, brooks, and torrents which fall from those mountains; these necessarily swell it above the banks, and fill the plains of Egypt with the inundation. This comes regularly about the month of July, or three weeks after the beginning of a rainy season in Ethiopia. The different degrees of this flood are such certain indications of the fruitfulness or sterility of the ensuing year, that it is publicly proclaimed in Cairo how much the water hath gained each night. This is all I have to inform the reader of concerning the Nile, which the Egyptians adored as the Deity, in whose choice it was to bless them with abundance, or deprive them of the necessaries of life.

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## C H A P. XI.

*The Author discovers a passage over the Nile. Is sent into the province of Ligonous, which he gives a description of. His success in his mission. The stratagem of the Monks to encourage the soldiers. The Author narrowly escapes being burned.*

WHEN I was to cross this river at Boad, I durst not venture myself on the flotes I have already spoken of; but went up higher, in hopes of finding a more commodious passage. I had with me three or four men that were reduced to the same difficulty with myself. In one part, seeing people on the other side, and remarking, that

that the water was shallow; and that the rocks and trees, which grew very thick there, contributed to facilitate the attempt, I leaped from one rock to another, till I reached the opposite bank, to the great amazement of the natives themselves, who never had tried that way. My four companions followed me with the same success; and it hath been called since, the passage of father Jerome.

That province of the kingdom of Damot which I was assigned to by my superior, is called Ligonous, and is perhaps one of the most beautiful and agreeable places in the world. The air is healthful and temperate, and all the mountains, which are not very high, shaded with cedars. They sow and reap here in every season; the ground is always producing, and the fruits ripen throughout the year. So great, so charming is the variety, that the whole region seems a garden, laid out and cultivated only to please. I doubt whether even the imagination of a painter has yet conceived a landscape as beautiful as I have seen. The forests have nothing uncouth or savage, and seem only planted for shade and coolness. Among a prodigious number of trees which fill them, there is one kind which I have seen in no other place, and to which we have none that bears any resemblance. This tree, which the natives call Enseté, is wonderfully useful; its leaves, which are so large as to cover a man, make hangings for rooms, and serve the inhabitants instead of linen for their tables and carpets. They grind the branches and the thick parts of the leaves, and when they are mingled with milk find them a delicious food. The trunk and the roots are even more nourishing than the leaves or branches; and the meaner people, when they go a journey, make no provision of any other victuals. The word Enseté, signifies the tree against hunger, or the poor's tree; though the most wealthy often

eat



eat of it. If it be cut down within half a-foot of the ground, and several incisions made in the stump, each will put out a new sprout, which, if transplanted, will take root, and grow to a tree. The Abyssins report, that this tree, when it is cut down, groans like a man; and on this account call cutting down an Enseté, killing it. On the top grows a bunch of five or six figs, of a taste not very agreeable, which they set in the ground to produce more trees.

I staid two months in the province of Lingonous; and during that time procured a church to be built of hewn stone, roofed and wainscoted with cedar, which is the most considerable in the whole country. My continual employment was the duties of the mission, which I was always practising in some part of the province, not indeed with any extraordinary success at first, for I found the people inflexibly obstinate in their opinions, even to so great a degree, that when I first published the emperor's edict, requiring all his subjects to renounce their errors, and unite themselves to the Roman church, there were some Monks, who, to the number of sixty, chose rather to die, by throwing themselves headlong from a precipice, than obey their sovereign's commands: and in a battle fought between these people that adhered to the religion of their ancestors and the troops of Sultan Segued, six hundred religious, placing themselves on the head of their men, marched towards the Catholic army with the stones of the altars upon their heads, assuring their credulous followers, that the emperor's troops would immediately, at the sight of those stones, fall into disorder, and turn their backs; but, as they were some of the first that fell, their death had a great influence upon the people to undeceive them, and make them return to the truth. Many were converted after the battle; and when  
G they

they had embraced the Catholic faith, adhered to that with the same constancy and firmness with which they had before persisted in their errors.

The emperor had sent a viceroy into this province, whose firm attachment to the Roman church, as well as great abilities in military affairs, made him a person very capable of executing the orders of the emperor, and of suppressing any insurrection that might be raised to prevent those alterations in religion which they were designed to promote. A farther view in the choice of so warlike a deputy was, that a stop might be put to the inroads of the Gallees, who had killed one viceroy, and in a little time after killed this.

It was our custom to meet together every year about Christmas, not only that we might comfort and entertain each other, but likewise that we might relate the progress and success of our missions, and concert all measures that might further the conversion of the inhabitants. This year our place of meeting was the emperor's camp, where the patriarch and superior of the missions were. I left the place of my abode, and took in my way four fathers that resided at the distance of two days journey, so that the company, without reckoning our attendants, was five. There happened nothing remarkable to us till the last night of our journey, when, taking up our lodging at a place belonging to the empress, a declared enemy to all Catholics, and in particular to the missionaries, we met with a kind reception in appearance, and were lodged in a large stone house, covered with wood and straw, which had stood uninhabited so long, that great numbers of red ants had taken possession of it; these, as soon as we were laid down, attacked us on all sides, and tormented us so incessantly, that we were obliged to call up our domestics. Having burnt a prodigious number  
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of these troublesome animals, we tried to compose ourselves again, but had scarce closed our eyes before we were awaked by the fire that had seized our lodging. Our servants, who were fortunately not all gone to bed, perceived the fire as soon as it began, and informed me who lay nearest the door. I immediately alarmed all the rest, and nothing was thought of but how to save ourselves; and the little goods we had, when, to our great astonishment, we found one of the doors barricaded in such a manner that we could not open it. Nothing now could have prevented our perishing in the flames, had not those who kindled them omitted to fasten that door near which I was lodged. We were no longer in doubt that the inhabitants of the town had laid a train, and set fire to a neighbouring house, in order to consume us. Their measures were so well laid, that the house was in ashes in an instant, and three of our beds were burnt, which the violence of the flame would not allow us to carry away. We spent the rest of the night in the most dismal apprehensions, and found next morning that we had justly charged the inhabitants with the design of destroying us; for the place was entirely abandoned, and those that were conscious of the crime had fled from the punishment. We continued our journey, and came to Gorgora, where we found the fathers met, and the emperor with them.

## C H A P. XII.

*The Author is sent into Tigre. Is in danger of being poisoned by the breath of a serpent. Is stung by a serpent. Is almost killed by eating anchovy. The people conspire against the missionaries, and distress them.*

**M**Y superiors intended to send me into the farthest parts of the empire, but the emperor over-ruled that design, and remanded me to Tigre, where I had resided before. I passed in my journey by Ganete lhos, a palace newly built, and made agreeable by beautiful gardens; and had the honour of paying my respects to the emperor, who had retired thither, and receiving from him a large present for the finishing of an hospital, which had been begun in the kingdom of Tigre. After having returned him thanks, I continued my way; and in crossing a desert, two days journey over, was in great danger of my life; for, as I lay on the ground, I perceived myself seized with a pain which forced me to rise, and saw, about four yards from me, one of those serpents that dart their poison at a distance. Although I rose before he came very near me, I yet felt the effects of his poisonous breath; and, if I had lain a little longer, had certainly died. I had recourse to bezoar, a sovereign remedy against these poisons, which I always carried about me. These serpents are not long, but have a body short and thick, and their bellies speckled with brown, black, and yellow. They have a wide mouth, with which they draw in a great quantity of air, and having retained it some time, eject it with such force that they kill at four yards distance. I only escaped by being somewhat farther from him.

him. This danger, however, was not much to be regarded in comparison of another which my negligence brought me into. As I was picking up a skin that lay upon the ground, I was stung by a serpent that left his sting in my finger. I at last picked an extraneous substance, about the bigness of an hair, out of the wound, which I imagined was the sting. This slight wound I took little notice of, till my arm grew inflamed all over. In a short time the poison infected my blood, and I felt the most terrible convulsions, which were interpreted as certain signs that my death was near and inevitable. I received now no benefit from bezoar, the horn of the unicorn, or any of the usual antidotes; but found myself obliged to make use of an extraordinary remedy, which I submitted to with extreme reluctance. This submission and obedience brought the blessing of Heaven upon me. Nevertheless I continued indisposed a long time, and had many symptoms which made me fear that all the danger was not yet over. I then took cloves of garlic, though with a great aversion both from the taste and smell. I was in this condition a whole month, always in pain, and taking medicines the most nauseous in the world. At length youth and an happy constitution surmounted the malignity, and I recovered my former health.

I continued two years at my residence in Tigre, entirely taken up with the duties of the mission, preaching, confessing, baptizing, and enjoyed a longer quiet and repose than I had ever done since I left Portugal. During this time one of our fathers, being always sick, and of a constitution which the air of Abyssinia was very hurtful to, obtained a permission from our superiors to return to the Indies. I was willing to accompany him through part of his way, and went with him over a desert, at no great distance from my residence, where I found many

trees loaded with a kind of fruit, called by the natives Anchoy, about the bigness of an apricot, and very yellow, which is much eaten without any ill effect. I therefore made no scruple of gathering and eating it, without knowing that the inhabitants always peeled it, the rind being a violent purgative; so that, eating the fruit and skin together, I fell into such a disorder as almost brought me to my end. The ordinary dose is six of these rinds, and I had devoured twenty.

I removed from thence to Debaroa, fifty-four miles nearer the sea, and crossed in my way the desert of the province of Saraoe. The country is fruitful, pleasant, and populous. There are greater numbers of Moors in these parts than in any other province of Abyssinia; and the Abyssins of this country are not much better than the Moors.

I was at Debaroa when the persecution was first set on foot against the Catholics. Sultan Segued, who had been so great a favourer of us, was grown old, and his spirit and authority decreased with his strength. His son, who was arrived at manhood, being weary of waiting so long for the crown he was to inherit, took occasion to blame his father's conduct, and found some reason for censuring all his actions; he even proceeded so far as to give orders sometimes contrary to the emperor's. He had embraced the Catholic religion, rather through complaisance than conviction or inclination; and many of the Abyssins, who had done the same, waited only for an opportunity of making public profession of the ancient erroneous opinions, and of re-uniting themselves to the church of Alexandria. So artfully can this people dissemble their sentiments, that we had not been able hitherto to distinguish our real from our pretended favourers; but as soon as this prince began to give evident tokens

kens of his hatred, even in the life-time of the emperor, we saw all the courtiers and governors, who had treated us with such a shew of friendship, declare against us, and persecute us as disturbers of the public tranquillity ; who had come into Ethiopia with no other intention than to abolish the ancient laws and customs of the country, to sow divisions between father and son, and preach up a revolution.

After having borne all sorts of affronts and ill-treatments, we retired to our house at Fremona, in the midst of our countrymen, who had been settling round about us a long time, imagining we should be more secure there, and that, at least during the life of the emperor, they would not come to extremities, or proceed to open force. I laid some stress upon the kindness which the viceroy of Tigre had shown to us, and in particular to me ; but was soon convinced that those hopes had no real foundation, for he was one of the most violent of our persecutors. He seized upon all our lands, and advancing with his troops to Fremona, blocked up the town. The army had not been stationed there long before they committed all sorts of disorders ; so that one day a Portuguese, provoked beyond his temper at the insolence of some of them, went out with his four sons, and wounding several of them, forced the rest back to their camp.

We thought we had good reason to apprehend an attack ; their troops were increasing, our town was surrounded, and on the point of being forced. Our Portuguese therefore thought, that without staying till the last extremities, they might lawfully repel one violence by another ; and sallying out, to the number of fifty, wounded about threescore of the Abyssins, and had put them to the sword, but that they feared it might bring too great

an odium upon our cause. The Portuguese were some of them wounded, but happily none died on either side.

Though the times were by no means favourable to us, every one blamed the conduct of the viceroy; and those who did not commend our action, made the necessity we were reduced to of self-defence an excuse for it. The viceroy's principal design was to get my person into his possession, imagining, that if I was once in his power, all the Portuguese would pay him a blind obedience. Having been unsuccessful in his attempt by open force, he made use of the arts of negociation, but with an event not more to his satisfaction. This viceroy being recalled, a son-in-law of the emperor's succeeded, who treated us even worse than his predecessor had done.

When he entered upon his command, he loaded us with kindnesses, giving us so many assurances of his protection, that, while the emperor lived, we thought him one of our friends; but no sooner was our protector dead, than this man pulled off his mask; and quitting all shame, let us see that neither the fear of God nor any other consideration was capable of restraining him, when we were to be distressed. The persecution then becoming general, there was no longer any place of security for us in Abyssinia; where we were looked upon by all as the authors of all the civil commotions; and many councils were held to determine in what manner they should dispose of us. Several were of opinion, that the best way would be to kill us all at once; and affirmed, that no other means were left of re-establishing order and tranquillity in the kingdom.

Others, more prudent, were not for putting us to death with so little consideration; but advised, that we should be banished to one of the isles of the lake of Dambia, an affliction more severe than death itself. These alledged,

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in vindication of their opinions, that it was reasonable to expect, if they put us to death, that the viceroy of the Indies would come with fire and sword to demand satisfaction. This argument made so great an impression upon some of them, that they thought no better measures could be taken than to send us back again to the Indies. This proposal, however, was not without its difficulties; for they suspected, that when we should arrive at the Portuguese territories, we would levy an army, return back to Abyssinia, and under pretence of establishing the Catholic religion, revenge all the injuries we had suffered.

While they were thus deliberating upon our fate, we were imploring the succour of the Almighty with fervent and humble supplications, intreating him, in the midst of our sighs and tears, that he would not suffer his own cause to miscarry; and that however it might please him to dispose of our lives, which we prayed he would assist us to lay down with patience and resignation, worthy of the faith for which we were persecuted, he would not permit our enemies to triumph over the truth.

Thus we passed our days and nights in prayers, in affliction and tears, continually crowded with widows and orphans that subsisted upon our charity, and came to us for bread, when we had not any for ourselves.

While we were in this distress, we received an account that the viceroy of the Indies had fitted out a powerful fleet against the king of Mombaza, who, having thrown off the authority of the Portuguese, had killed the governor of the fortress, and had since committed many acts of cruelty. The same fleet, as we were informed, after the king of Mombaza was reduced, was to burn and ruin Zeila, in revenge of the death of two Portuguese Jesuits who were killed by the king in the year  
1604.

1604. As Zeila was not far from the frontiers of Abyssinia, they imagined that they already saw the Portuguese invading their country.

The viceroy of Tigre had enquired of me, a few days before, how many men one India ship carried; and being told that the compliment of some was a thousand men, he compared that answer with the report then spread over all the country, that there were eighteen Portuguese vessels on the coast of Adel; and concluded, that they were manned by an army of eighteen thousand men. Then considering what had been achieved by four hundred, under the command of Don Christopher de Gama, he thought Abyssinia already ravaged, or subjected to the king of Portugal. Many declared themselves of his opinion, and the court took its measures with respect to us from these uncertain and ungrounded rumours. Some were so infatuated with their apprehensions, that they undertook to describe the camp of the Portuguese, and affirmed that they had heard the report of their cannons.

All this contributed to exasperate the inhabitants, and reduced us often to the point of being massacred. At length they came to a resolution of giving us up to the Turks, assuring them that we were masters of a vast treasure; in hope, that after they had inflicted all kinds of tortures on us, to make us confess where we had hid our gold, or what we had done with it, they would at length kill us in rage for the disappointment. Nor was this their only view, for they believed that the Turks would, by killing us, kindle such an irreconcilable hatred between themselves and our nation, as would make it necessary for them to keep us out of the Red sea, of which they are entirely masters: so that their determination was as politic as cruel. Some pretend, that the Turks were

were engaged to put us to death as soon as we were in their power.

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## C H A P. XIII.

*The Author relieves the patriarch and missionaries, and supports them. He escapes several snares laid for him by the viceroy of Tigre. They put themselves under the protection of the prince of Bar.*

**H**AVING concluded this negotiation, they drove us out of our houses, and robbed us of every thing that was worth carrying away ; and not content with that, informed some banditti that were then in those parts of the road we were to travel through ; so that the patriarch and some missionaries were attacked in a desert by these rovers, with their captain at their head, who pillaged his library, his ornaments, and what little baggage the missionaries had left ; and might have gone away without resistance or interruption, had they satisfied themselves with only robbing ; but when they began to fall upon the missionaries and their companions, our countrymen, finding that their lives could only be preserved by their courage, charged their enemies with such vigour that they killed their chief, and forced the rest to a precipitate flight. But these rovers, being acquainted with the country, harassed the little caravan till it was past the borders.

Our fathers then imagined they had nothing more to fear, but too soon were convinced of their error ; for they found the whole country turned against them, and met every where new enemies to contend with, and new dangers

dangers to surmount. Being not far distant from Fremona, where I resided, they sent to me for succour. I was better informed of the distress they were in than themselves; having been told that a numerous body of Abyssins had posted themselves in a narrow pass, with an intent to surround and destroy them; therefore, without long deliberation, I assembled my friends, both Portuguese and Abyssins, to the number of fourscore, and went to their rescue, carrying with me provisions and refreshments, of which I knew they were in great need. These glorious confessors I met as they were just entering the pass designed for the place of their destruction, and doubly preserved them from famine and the sword. A grateful sense of their deliverance made them receive me as a guardian angel. We went together to Fremona, and being in all, a patriarch, a bishop, eighteen Jesuits, and four hundred Portuguese, whom I supplied with necessities, though the revenues of our house were lost, and though the country was disaffected to us, in the worst season of the year. We were obliged, for the relief of the poor, and our own subsistence, to sell our ornaments and chalices, which we first broke in pieces, that the people might not have the pleasure of ridiculing our mysteries, by profaning the vessels made use of in the celebration of them; for they now would gladly treat with the highest indignities what they had a year before looked upon with veneration.

Amidst all these perplexities, the viceroy did not fail to visit us, and make us great offers of service, in expectation of a large present. We were in a situation in which it was very difficult to act properly. We knew too well the ill intentions of the viceroy, but durst not complain, or give him any reason to imagine that we knew them. We longed to retreat out of his power, or at least to send  
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one of our company to the Indies, with an account of the persecution we suffered, and could without his leave neither do one nor the other.

When it was determined that one should be sent to the Indies, I was at first singled out for the journey; and it was intended that I should represent at Goa, at Rome, and at Madrid, the distresses and necessities of the mission of Ethiopia. But the fathers, reflecting afterwards that I best understood the Abyssinian language, and was most acquainted with the customs of the country, altered their opinions; and continuing me in Ethiopia, either to perish with them, or preserve them, deputed four other Jesuits, who, in a short time, set out in their way to the Indies.

About this time I was sent for to the viceroy's camp to confess a criminal, who, though falsely, was believed a Catholic; to whom, after a proper exhortation, I was going to pronounce the form of absolution, when those that waited to execute him told him aloud, that if he expected to save his life by professing himself a Catholic, he would find himself deceived, and that he had nothing to do but prepare himself for death. The unhappy criminal had no sooner heard this, than, rising up, he declared his resolution to die in the religion of his country; and being delivered up to his prosecutors, was immediately dispatched with their lances.

The chief reason of calling me was not that I might hear this confession, the viceroy had another design of seizing my person; expecting, that either the Jesuits or Portuguese would buy my liberty with a large ransom, or that he might exchange me for his father, who was kept prisoner by a revolted prince. That prince would have been no loser by the exchange, for so much was I hated by the Abyssinian Monks, that they would have thought no expence too great to have gotten me into  
their

their hands, that they might have glutted their revenge by putting me to the most painful death they could have invented. Happily I found means to retire out of this dangerous place, and was followed by the viceroy almost to Fremona; who, being disappointed, desired me either to visit him at his camp, or appoint a place where we might confer. I made many excuses, but at length agreed to meet him at a place near Fremona, bringing each of us only three companions. I did not doubt but he would bring more, and so he did; but found that I was upon my guard, and that my company increased in proportion to his. My friends were resolute Portuguese, who were determined to give him no quarter, if he made any attempt upon my liberty. Finding himself once more countermined, he returned ashamed to his camp; where, a month after, being accused of a confederacy in the revolt of that prince who kept his father prisoner, he was arrested, and carried in chains to the emperor.

The time now approaching in which we were to be delivered to the Turks, we had none but God to apply to for relief, all the measures we could think of were equally dangerous. Resolving, nevertheless, to seek some retreat, where we might hide ourselves either altogether or separately, we determined at last to put ourselves under the protection of the prince John Akay, who had defended himself a long time in the province of Bar against the power of Abyssinia.

After I had concluded a treaty with this prince, the patriarch and all the fathers put themselves into his hands; and being received with all imaginable kindness and civility, were conducted with a guard to Adicota, a rock excessively steep, about nine miles from his place of residence. The event was not agreeable to the happy beginning of our negociation; for we soon began to find

find that our habitation was not likely to be very pleasant. We were surrounded with Mahometans, or Christians who were inveterate enemies to the Catholic faith, and were obliged to act with the utmost caution. Notwithstanding these inconveniencies, we were pleased with the present tranquillity we enjoyed, and lived contentedly on lentils and a little corn that we had, and I, after we had sold all our goods, resolved to turn physician, and was soon able to support myself by my practice.

I was once consulted by a man troubled with an asthma, who presented me with two Alquieres, that is, about twenty-eight pound weight of corn, and a sheep ; the advice I gave him, after having turned over my books, was to drink goat's urine every morning. I know not whether he found any benefit by following my prescription, for I never saw him after.

Being under a necessity of obeying our Acoba, or protector, we changed our place of abode as often as he desired it, though not without great inconveniencies from the excessive heat of the weather, and the faintness which our strict observation of the fasts and austerities of lent, as it is kept in this country, had brought upon us. At length wearied with removing so often, and finding that the last place assigned for our abode was always the worst, we agreed that I should go to our sovereign and complain.

I found him entirely taken up with the imagination of a prodigious treasure, affirmed by the Monks to be hidden under a mountain. He was told, that his predecessors had been hindered from discovering it by the dæmon that guarded it; but that the dæmon was now at a great distance from his charge, and was grown blind and lame; that having lost his son, and being without any children, except a daughter that was ugly and unhealthy, he was under great affliction, and entirely neglected the care of his

his treasure ; that if he should come, they could call one of their ancient brothers to their assistance, who, being a man of a most holy life, would be able to prevent his making any resistance. To all these stories the prince listened with unthinking credulity. The Monks, encouraged by this, fell to the business, and brought a man above an hundred years old, whom, because he could not support himself on horseback, they had tied on the beast, and covered him with black wool. He was followed by a black cow, designed for a sacrifice to the demon of the place, and by some Monks that carried mead, beer, and parched corn, to complete the offering.

No sooner were they arrived at the foot of the mountain than every one began to work. Bags were brought from all parts to convey away the millions which each imagined would be his share. The Xumo, who superintended the work, would not allow any to come near the labourers, but stood by, attended by the old Monk, who almost sung himself to death. At length, having removed a vast quantity of earth and stones, they discovered some holes made by rats or moles ; at sight of which a shout of joy ran through the whole troop. The cow was brought and sacrificed immediately, and some pieces of flesh were thrown into these holes. Animated now with assurance of success they lost no time, every one redoubles his endeavours, and the heat, though intolerable, was less powerful than the hopes they had conceived. At length, some not so patient as the rest, were weary and desisted. The work now grew more difficult ; they found nothing but rock, yet continued to toil on, till the prince, having lost all temper, began to enquire with some passion when he should have a sight of this treasure : and after having been some time amused with many promises  
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by the Monks, was told that he had not faith enough to be favoured with the discovery.

All this I saw myself, and could not forbear endeavouring to convince our protector how much he was imposed upon. He was not long before he was satisfied that he had been too credulous; for all those that had so industriously searched after this imaginary wealth, within five hours, left the work in despair, and I continued almost alone with the prince.

Imagining no time more proper to make the proposal I was sent with than while his passion was still hot against the Monks, I presented him with two ounces of gold, and two plates of silver, with some other things of small value; and was so successful, that he gratified me in all my requests, and gave us leave to return to Adicora, where we were so fortunate to find our huts yet uninjured and entire.

About this time the fathers, who had staid behind at Fremona, arrived with the new viceroy, and an officer fierce in the defence of his own religion, who had particular orders to deliver all the Jesuits up to the Turks, except me, whom the emperor was resolved to have in his own hands alive or dead. We had received some notice of this resolution from our friends at court; and were likewise informed that the emperor, their master, had been persuaded that my design was to procure assistance from the Indies, and that I should certainly return at the head of an army. The patriarch's advice upon this emergency was, that I should retire into the woods, and by some other road join the nine Jesuits who were gone towards Mazua. I could think of no better expedient; and therefore went away, in the night between the 23d and 24th of April, with my comrade, an old man, very infirm and very timorous. We crossed woods, ne-

ver crossed, I believe, by any before. The darkness of the night, and the thickness of the shade, spread a kind of horror round us. Our gloomy journey was still more incommoded by the brambles and thorns which tore our hands. Amidst all these difficulties I applied myself to the Almighty, praying him to preserve us from those dangers which we endeavoured to avoid, and to deliver us from those to which our flight exposed us. Thus we travelled all night till eight next morning, without taking either rest or food; then, imagining ourselves secure, we made us some cakes of barley-meal and water, which we thought a feast.

We had a dispute with our guides, who though they had bargained to conduct us for an ounce of gold, yet when they saw us so entangled in the intricacies of the wood, that we could not possibly get out without their direction, demanded seven ounces of gold, a mule, and a little tent which we had. After a long dispute we were forced to come to their terms. We continued to travel all night, and to hide ourselves in the woods all day; and here it was that we met the three hundred elephants I spoke of before. We made long marches, travelling without any halt, from four in the afternoon to eight in the morning.

Arriving at a valley where travellers seldom escape being plundered, we were obliged to double our pace; and were so happy as to pass it without meeting with any misfortune, except that we heard a bird sing on our left hand; a certain presage among these people of some great calamity at hand. As there is no reasoning them out of superstition, I knew no way of encouraging them to go forward, but what I had already made use of on the same occasion; assuring them that I heard one at the same time on the right. They were, happily, so credulous as

to take my word, and we went on till we came to a well, where we staid a while to refresh ourselves. Setting out again in the evening, we passed so near a village where these robbers had retreated, that the dogs barked after us. Next morning we joined the fathers, who waited for us. After we had rested ourselves some time in that mountain, we resolved to separate and go two and two, to see for a more convenient place where we might hide ourselves. We had not gone far before we were surrounded by a troop of robbers, with whom, by the interest of some of the natives who had joined themselves to our caravan, we came to a composition, giving them part of our goods to permit us to carry away the rest; and after this troublesome adventure arrived at a place something more commodious than that which we had quitted, where we met with bread, but of so pernicious a quality, that, after having eat it, we were intoxicated to so great a degree, that one of my friends seeing me so disordered congratulated my good fortune of having met with such good wine, and was surpris'd when I gave him an account of the whole affair. He then offered me some curdled milk, very sour, with barley-meal, which we boiled, and thought it the best entertainment we had met with a long time.

## C H A P. XIV.

*They are betrayed into the hands of the Turks. Are detained a while at Mazua. Are threatened by the Bassa of Suaquem. They agree for their ransom, and are part of them dismissed.*

**S**OME time after, we received news that we should prepare ourselves to serve the Turks, a message which filled us with surprise, it having never been known that one of these lords had ever abandoned any whom he had taken under his protection; and it is, on the contrary, one of the highest points of honour amongst them, to risk their fortunes and their lives in the defence of their dependants who have implored their protection. But neither law nor justice were of any advantage to us, and the customs of the country were doomed to be broken when they would have contributed to our security.

We were obliged to march in the extremity of the hot season, and had certainly perished by the fatigue, had we not entered the woods which shaded us from the scorching sun. The day before our arrival at the place where we were to be delivered to the Turks, we met with five elephants that pursued us; and if they could have come to us would have prevented the miseries we afterwards endured, but God had decreed otherwise.

On the morrow we came to the banks of a river, where we found fourscore Turks that waited for us armed with muskets. They let us rest a while, and then put us into the hands of our new masters, who, setting us upon camels, conducted us to Mazua. Their commander, seeming to be touched with our misfortunes, treated

us with much gentleness and humanity. He offered us coffee, which we drank, but with little relish. We came next day to Mazua in so wretched a condition, that we were not surprised at being hooted by the boys, but thought ourselves well used that they threw no stones at us.

As soon as we were brought hither, all we had was taken from us, and we were carried to the governor, who is placed there by the Bassa of Suaquem. Having been told by the Abyssins that we had carried all the gold out of Ethiopia, they searched us with great exactness, but found nothing except two chalices, and some relics of so little value that we redeemed them for six sequins. As I had given them my chalice upon their first demand, they did not search me ; but gave us to understand that they expected to find something of greater value, which either we must have hidden, or the Abyssins must have imposed on them. They left us the rest of the day at a gentleman's house who was our friend, from whence the next day they fetched us to transport us to the island, where they put us into a kind of prison, with a view of terrifying us into a confession of the place where we had hid our gold, in which, however, they found themselves deceived.

But I had here another affair upon my hands which was near costing me dear. My servant had been taken from me, and left at Mazua, to be sold to the Arabs. Being advertised by him of the danger he was in, I laid claim to him, without knowing the difficulties which this way of proceeding would bring upon me. The governor sent me word, that my servant should be restored me upon the payment of sixty piasters. And being answered by me that I had not a penny for myself, and therefore could not pay sixty piasters to redeem my servant, he

informed me by a renegade Jew, who negotiated the whole affair, that either I must produce the money or receive an hundred blows of the battoon. Knowing that those orders are without appeal, and always punctually executed, I prepared myself to receive the correction I was threatened with ; but unexpectedly found the people so charitable as to lend me the money. By several other threats of the same kind they drew from us about six hundred crowns.

On the 24th of June, we embarked in two gallees for Suaquem, where the Bassa resided. His brother, who was his deputy at Mazua, made us promise before we went, that we would not mention the money he had squeezed from us. The season was not very proper for sailing, and our provisions were but short. In a little time we began to feel the want of better stores, and thought ourselves happy in meeting with a gelve, which, though small, was a much better sailer than our vessel in which I was sent to Suaquem to procure camels and provisions. I was not much at my ease alone among six Mahometans, and could not help apprehending that some zealous pilgrim of Mecca might lay hold on this opportunity, in the heat of his devotion, of sacrificing me to his prophet.

These apprehensions were without ground. I contracted an acquaintance, which was soon improved into a friendship, with these people. They offered me part of their provisions, and I gave them some of mine. As we were in a place abounding with oysters, some of which were large and good to eat, others more smooth and shining, in which pearls are found, they gave me some of those they gathered. But whether it happened by trifling our time away in oyster catching, or whether the wind was not favourable, we came to Suaquem later than  
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the vessel I had left, in which were seven of my companions.

As they had first landed, they had suffered the first transports of the Bassa's passion, who was a violent tyrannical man, and would have killed his own brother for the least advantage ; a temper which made him fly into the utmost rage at seeing us poor, tattered, and almost naked. He treated us with the most opprobrious language, and threatened to cut off our heads. We comforted ourselves in this condition, hoping that all our sufferings would end in shedding our blood for the name of Jesus Christ. We knew that the Bassa had often made a public declaration before our arrival, that he should die contented if he could have the pleasure of killing us all with his own hand. This violent resolution was not lasting ; his zeal gave way to his avarice, and he could not think of losing so large a sum as he knew he might expect for our ransom. He therefore sent us word, that it was in our choice either to die or to pay him thirty thousand crowns, and demanded to know our determination.

We knew that his ardent thirst of our blood was now cold ; that time and calm reflection, and the advice of his friends, had all conspired to bring him to a milder temper ; and therefore willingly began to treat with him. I told the messenger, being deputed by the rest to manage the affair, that he could not but observe the wretched condition we were in ; that we had neither money nor revenues ; that what little we had was already taken from us ; and that therefore all we could promise was to set a collection on foot ; not much doubting but that our brethren would afford us such assistance as might enable us to make him an handsome present, according to custom.

This answer was not at all agreeable to the Bassa, who returned an answer that he would be satisfied with twenty thousand

thousand crowns, provided we paid them on the spot, or gave him good securities for the payment. To this we could only repeat what we had said before. He then proposed to abate five thousand of his last demand; assuring us, that unless we came to some agreement there was no torment so cruel but we should suffer it; and talked of nothing but impaling and fleaing us alive. The terror of these threatenings was much increased by his domestics, who told us of many of his cruelties. This is certain, that some time before he had used some poor Pagan merchants in that manner; and had caused the executioner to begin to flea them, when some Bramin, touched with compassion, generously contributed the sum demanded for their ransom. We had no reason to hope for so much kindness; and having nothing of our own, could promise no certain sum.

At length some of his favourites, whom he most confided in, knowing his cruelty, and our inability to pay what he demanded, and apprehending, that if he should put us to the death he threatened, they should soon see the fleets of Portugal in the Red sea, laying their towns in ashes to revenge it, endeavoured to soften his passion, and preserve our lives; offering to advance the sum we should agree for, without any other security than our words. By this assistance, after many interviews with the Bassa's agents, we agreed to pay four thousand three hundred crowns, which were accepted, on condition that they should be paid down, and we should go on board within two hours. But changing his resolution on a sudden, he sent us word by his treasurer, that two of the most considerable among us should stay behind for security, while the rest went to procure the money they had promised. They kept the patriarch and two more fathers, one of which was above fourscore years old, in  
whose



whose place I chose to remain prisoner ; and represented to the Bassa, that, being worn out with age, he perhaps might die in his hands, which would lose the part of the ransom which was due on his account ; that therefore it would be better to chuse a younger in his place, offering to stay myself with him, that the good old man might be set at liberty.

The Bassa agreed to another Jesuit, and it pleased Heaven that the lot fell upon father Francis Marquez. I imagined that I might with the same ease get the patriarch out of his hand ; but no sooner had I began to speak but the anger flashed in his eyes, and his look was sufficient to make me stop and despair of success. We parted immediately, leaving the patriarch and two fathers in prison, whom we embraced with tears, and went to take up our lodging on board the vessel.

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## C H A P. XV.

*Their treatment on board the vessel. Their reception at Diou. The Author applies to the Viceroy for assistance, but without success. He is sent to solicit in Europe.*

OUR condition here was not much better than that of the illustrious captives whom we left behind. We were in an Arabian ship, with a crew of pilgrims of Mecca, with whom it was a point of religion to insult us. We were lodged upon the deck, exposed to all the injuries of the weather ; nor was there the meanest workman or sailor who did not either kick or strike us. When we went first on board, I perceived a humour in my finger, which

which I neglected at first, till it spread over my hand, and swelled up my arm, afflicting me with the most horrid torture. There was neither surgeon nor medicines to be had; nor could I procure any thing to ease my pain but a little oil, with which I anointed my arm, and in time found some relief. The weather was very bad, and the wind almost always against us; and to increase our perplexity, the whole crew, though Moors, were in the greatest apprehension of meeting any of those vessels which the Turks maintain in the streight of Babelmandel. The ground of their fear was, that the captain had neglected the last year to touch at Moca, though he had promised. Thus we were in danger of falling into a captivity, perhaps more severe than that we had just escaped from. While we were wholly engaged with these apprehensions, we discovered a Turkish ship and galley were come upon us. It was almost calm, at least there was not wind enough to give us any prospect of escaping; so that when the galley came up to us, we thought ourselves lost without remedy; and had probably fallen into their hands, had not a breeze sprung up just in the instant of danger, which carried us down the channel between the main land and the isle of Babel-mandel. I have already said that this passage is difficult and dangerous, which nevertheless we passed in the night, without knowing what course we held, and were transported at finding ourselves next morning out of the Red sea, and half a league from Babelmandel. The currents are here so violent that they carried us against our will to Cape Guardafui, where we sent our boats ashore for fresh water, which we began to be in great want of. The captain refused to give us any, when we desired some, and treated us with great insolence, till, coming near the land, I spoke to him in a tone more lofty and resolute than I had ever done;

done ; and gave him to understand, that when he touched at Diou he might have occasion for our interest. This had some effect upon him, and procured us a greater degree of civility than we had met with before.

At length, after forty days sailing, we landed at Dion, where we were met by the whole city, it being reported that the patriarch was one of our number ; for there was not a gentleman who was not impatient to have the pleasure of beholding that good man, now made famous by his labours and sufferings. It is not in my power to represent the different passions they were affected with, at seeing us pale, meagre, without cloaths ; in a word, almost naked, and almost dead with fatigue and ill usage. They could not behold us in that miserable condition without reflecting on the hardships we had undergone, and our brethren then underwent, in Suaquem and Abyssinia. Amidst their thanks to God for our deliverance, they could not help lamenting the condition of the patriarch and the other missionaries, who were in chains, or at least in the hands of professed enemies to our holy religion. All this did not hinder them from testifying, in the most obliging manner, their joy for our deliverance ; and paying such honours as surprised the Moors, and made them repent in a moment of the ill-treatment they had shown us on board. One who had discovered somewhat more humanity than the rest, thought himself sufficiently honoured when I took him by the hand and presented him to the chief officer of the customhouse, who promised to do all the favours that were in his power.

When we passed by in sight of the fort, they gave us three salutes with their cannon, an honour only paid to generals. The chief men of the city, who waited for us on the shore, accompanied us through a crowd of people,

ple, whom curiosity had drawn from all parts, to our college. Though our place of residence at Dion is one of the most beautiful in all the Indies, we staid there only a few days; and as soon as we had recovered our fatigues, went on board the ships that were appointed to convoy the northern fleet. I was in the admiral's. We arrived at Goa, in some vessels bound for Cambaia. Here we lost a good old Abyssin convert, a man much valued in his order, and who was actually prior of his convent when he left Abyssinia; chusing rather to forsake all for religion, than to leave the way of salvation which God had so mercifully favoured him with the knowledge of.

We continued our voyage, and, almost without stopping, sailed by Surate and Damam, where the rector of the college came to see us; but so sea-sick, that the interview was without any satisfaction on either side. Then landing at Bazaim, we were received by our fathers with their accustomed charity; and nothing was thought of but how to put the unpleasing remembrance of our past labours out of our minds. Finding here an order of the father provincial to forbid those who returned from the missions to go any farther, it was thought necessary to send an agent to Goa, with an account of the revolutions that had happened in Abyssinia, and of the imprisonment of the patriarch. For this commission I was made choice of; and I know not by what hidden decree of Providence almost all affairs, whatever the success of them was, were transacted by me. All the coasts were beset by Dutch cruisers, which made it difficult to sail without running the hazard of being taken. I went therefore by land from Bazaim to Tana, where we had another college, and from thence to our house of Chaul. Here I hired a narrow light vessel,

vessel; and placing eighteen oars on a side, went close by the shore, from Chaul to Goa, almost eighty leagues. We were often in danger of being taken; and particularly when we touched at Dabal, where a cruiser blocked up one of the channels through which ships usually sail; but our vessel requiring no great depth of water, and the sea running high, we went through the little channel, and fortunately escaped the cruiser. Though we were yet far from Goa, we expected to arrive there on the next morning, and rowed forward with all the diligence we could. The sea was calm and delightful, and our minds were at ease; for we imagined ourselves past danger; but soon found we had flattered ourselves too soon with security, for we came within sight of several barks of Malabar, which had been hid behind a point of land which we were going to double. Here we had been inevitably taken, had not a man called to us from the shore, and informed us, that among those fishing boats there, some cruisers would make us a prize. We rewarded our kind informer for the service he had done us, and lay by till night came to shelter us from our enemies. Then, putting out our oars, we landed at Goa next morning about ten, and were received at our college. It being there a festival day, each had something extraordinary allowed him. The choicest part of our entertainments was two pilchers, which were admired because they came from Portugal.

The quiet I began to enjoy did not make me lose the remembrance of my brethren whom I had left languishing among the rocks of Abyssinia, or groaning in the prisons of Suaquem; whom, since I could not set at liberty without the viceroy's assistance, I went to implore it; and did not fail to make use of every motive which could have any influence.

I described, in the most pathetic manner I could, the miserable state to which the Catholic religion was reduced, in a country where it had lately flourished so much by the labours of the Portuguese. I gave him, in the strongest terms, a representation of all that we had suffered since the death of Sultan Segued ; how we had been driven out of Abyssinia ; how many times they had attempted to take away our lives ; in what manner we had been betrayed, and given up to the Turks ; the menaces we had been terrified with ; the insults we had endured. I laid before him the danger the patriarch was in of being either impaled or fled alive ; the cruelty, insolence, and avarice of the Bassa of Suaquem ; and the persecution that the Catholics suffered in Ethiopia. I exhorted, I implored him, by every thing I thought might move him, to make some attempt for the preservation of those who had voluntarily sacrificed their lives for the sake of God. I made it appear with how much ease the Turks might be driven out of the Red sea, and the Portuguese enjoy all the trade of those countries. I informed him of the navigation of that sea, and the situation of its ports ; told him which it would be necessary to make ourselves masters of first, that we might upon any unfortunate encounter retreat to them. I cannot deny that some degree of resentment might appear in my discourse ; for though revenge be prohibited to Christians, I should not have been displeased to have had the Bassa of Suaquem and his brother in my hands, that I might have reproached them with the ill-treatment we had met with from them. This was the reason of my advising to make the first attack upon Mazua, to drive the Turks from thence, to build a citadel, and garrison it with Portuguese.

The viceroys listened with great attention to all I had to say ; gave me a long audience ; and asked me many questions.

questions. He was well-pleased with the design of sending a fleet into that sea ; and to give a greater reputation to the enterprize, proposed making his son commander in chief ; but could by no means be brought to think of fixing garrisons, and building fortresses there. All he intended was to plunder all they could, and lay the towns in ashes.

I left no art of persuasion untried to convince him, that such a resolution would injure the interests of Christianity. That to enter the Red sea only to ravage the coasts would so enrage the Turks, that they would certainly massacre all the Christian captives, and for ever shut the passage into Abyssinia, and hinder all communication with that empire. It was my opinion, that the Portuguese should first establish themselves at Mazua ; and that an hundred of them would be sufficient to keep the fort that should be built. He made an offer of only fifty, and proposed that we should collect those few Portuguese who were scattered over Abyssinia. These measures I could not approve.

At length, when it appeared that the viceroy had neither forces nor authority sufficient for this undertaking, it was agreed that I should go immediately into Europe, and represent at Rome and Madrid the miserable condition of the missions of Abyssinia. The viceroy promised, that if I could procure any assistance, he would command in person the fleet and forces raised for the expedition ; assuring me, that he thought he could not employ his life better than in a war so holy, and of so great an importance to the propagation of the Catholic faith.

Encouraged by this discourse of the viceroy, I immediately prepared myself for a voyage to Lisbon, not doubting to obtain, upon the least solicitation, every thing that was necessary to re-establish our mission.

Never

Never had any man a voyage so troublesome as mine; or interrupted with such variety of unhappy accidents. I was shipwrecked on the coast of Natal; I was taken by the Hollanders; and it is not easy to mention the danger which I was exposed to, both by land and sea, before I arrived at Portugal.

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C H A P. I.

*The calamities that befell the missionaries in Ethiopia. A counterfeited bishop is detected in Abyssinia. Another, imagined a favourer of the Catholics, is chosen.*

SCARCELY had father Jerome Lobo. left Suaquem, before a report was spread, that the Portuguese fleet had entered the Red sea, made a descent upon the coasts of Abyssinia, and were come with a design of conquering the empire. The terror caused by this report, very far from stopping the persecution, much contributed to exasperate it. The Portuguese, who had been settled a long time in this kingdom, were constrained to retire farther into the country, having leave only to take with them one missionary; and even that consolation they were soon deprived of; for the father John Pereira, who had offered to run all hazards with them, was obliged to conceal himself for the preservation of his life, by an edict published about the same time; which, after declaring that the emperor thought himself not secure

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cure while there was a single missionary in his dominions, enjoined all his subjects to make strict search, and put to death, or deliver to justice, all that they could find.

Caflamariam kept near his person the fathers Apollinaro d'Almerda bishop of Nice, and Hyacinto Francisco a Florentine ; and informing them, after the edict was published, that he could preserve them no longer, he conducted them to some rough unfrequented mountains, where indeed they lay hid secure enough from their persecutors, but were every moment in danger of being devoured by ravenous beasts, or perishing with hunger. The report that they were dead made them less sought after. Caflamariam, upon reflection, considering the danger of their present abode, conducted the bishop of Nice to the place where father Francis Rodriguez had chosen his retreat ; and no small pleasure did these two confessors feel at their meeting ; that they might live together, and assist each other, was an inexpressible satisfaction. The father Francisco changed his place of retirement, but not for the better. He was a whole year without seeing the light of the sun, not daring to go out for air but in the night, and even that liberty cost him dear ; so that having nothing to satisfy his avaricious host with any longer, he was forced to seek for protection in another place.

The same misfortune befel the fathers Lewis, Cardeira, and Bruno Bruni. They hid themselves in the house of Zerr Jannes, who, after having shown them the highest respect and civility, till he had got all their ornaments and vessels into his hands, then threatened to sell them to the Turks ; and could not be prevailed on to dismiss them, or diverted from his perfidious resolution, but

but by the payment of eleven ounces of gold for their ransom.

Bruno Bruni went to join the fathers Gaspar Payz, and John Pereira, who lay concealed at Affa, ten miles from Fremona, under the protection of Tecla Emanuel. This faithful friend and protector of the missionaries being soon recalled from his government, gave notice to the fathers, that his brother Melca Christos was named for his successor, advising them to be cautious of reposing any trust in him, he being nearly allied to some of the most hot and violent persecutors of the Catholic faith. These fathers had made use of this information had they known whether to fly, or whom to trust; but having so often been abandoned and betrayed by those who had given them marks of the sincerest friendship, they were now unable to determine what course to take. They continued thus wavering and uncertain, till it was told them that Melca Christos, the new governor, desired to see them; who immediately came in sight with a troop of guards, having laid another party in ambush. He told the fathers with an affected melancholy, that he had been lately informed that his brother was laid in chains, by the king's command, for having protected them; and that he was sorry to tell them, a necessary regard to his own security forced him to desire them to remove.

Scarcely had he spoke the last words, before his soldiers, to the number of an hundred and thirty, poured upon the missionaries, who, resolving to suffer every thing for the religion they had come to preach, exhorted their attendants to retire. The father Gaspar Payz, who had neither strength nor inclination to defend himself, covering his face with his handkerchief, leaned against a tree, and in that posture was run through with lances. The rest, after a gallant defence, being overborn and wearied

by the numbers of their adversaries, ended their labours by a glorious death, except Bruno Bruni, who, being left as dead, was cured afterwards by a Caffre slave.

During the time of this cruel persecution, the Jacobite church of Abyssinia suffered one of the greatest reproaches that had ever happened to it. A man who was bringing some Nubia horses into the province of Narca, had the impudence, without being so much as shorn, to take upon himself the stile of Abuna of Abyssinia, and to exercise all the offices of a bishop. Being known by an Egyptian, he was so enraged that he killed him. A crime like this could not be kept private, and the emperor Basilides, by his own authority, deposed this Abuna, and banished him into the isle of Bek.

He that came from Alexandria to supply his place was not much better; for he arrived at Abyssinia, accompanied by his wife and children, and lived in so scandalous a manner, that the emperor sent him the same year with a strong guard to a rock almost inaccessible; and having confined him there, demanded another bishop from Alexandria. The father Agatange de Vendome, superior of the mission of Capuchins in Egypt, being informed of the miserable state of religion in Ethiopia, went to the patriarch of Alexandria, imploring him to have pity upon the Christians of Abyssinia, and to send them a bishop of such conduct and moderation, as might, by his prudence and charity, appease the spirits of the people, too much heated by these commotions. The patriarch promised him all he desired; and proceeded so far as to write to king Basilides, that the Christians of the Roman church might be treated in his dominions with less rigour. The Abbé Mark, who was made Abuna or metropolitan of Abyssinia, was one of father Agatange's friends; they had conversed often, and the good Capuchin

Capuchin was persuaded that he had favourable sentiments of the Roman church, as it appears by a letter which he wrote on this occasion to the patriarch Alphonso Mendez at Suaquem; wherein he informs him, that this Abuna was fully persuaded of the truth of the doctrines of the church of Rome; that though he could not affirm him to be a Catholic, yet that he was well inclined towards them; that he held the same opinions concerning our Saviour, and the superiority of the sovereign pontiff, and would treat those of the Roman church as orthodox; and desires of the patriarch, that he would, in regard of his affection for the church, shew him all the kindness in his power, and recommend him to the admiral of the Portugal fleet.

The patriarch did not find the new Abuna's opinions agreeable to this account of them, for he had imposed upon the Capuchin father; and far from being either a Catholic, or inclined to favour their opinions, he became, when he was invested by his authority, one of the most furious of their persecutors, as father Agatange had himself experience of.

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## C H A P. II.

*The patriarch and his companions suffer great miseries: Are ransomed, and arrive at Diou. Their reception there; with the fate of the other missionaries in Abyssinia.*

**T**O return to the patriarch and two Jesuits who were left at Suaquem; never was captivity more severe than what they endured. The Bassa, a man whose cru-

elty was not to be appeased, or avarice satiated, began his injustice by taking all they had from them ; then demanded immense sums, making every day some new proposition more unreasonable than the last. The patriarch, at length, wearied with incessant injuries and oppressions, made application to the French consul in Egypt, that he might give notice at Rome of the condition they were in ; nor were they without hopes that he might procure letters in their favour from the Bassa of Cairo, on whom he of Suaquem is dependent.

The consul employed his interest, but without any advantage to the captives at Suaquem, whom the Bassa loaded with irons heavier than before ; fastening them to the ground by the feet and neck, so that they could not move. The Count de Linares, viceroy of the Indies, having received information of the miseries these confessors underwent, gave directions to some merchants to treat about their ransom. The Bassa was offered four thousand crusades ; but he insisted on six thousand for only the patriarch ; and there was no way of procuring his liberty, but by satisfying this unreasonable demand.

The patriarch much desired to take the bishop of Nice away with him, and directed him to meet him with the utmost expedition ; but whether the letter miscarried, or any thing else intervened, the bishop did not appear, and they went away without him. The ship, which had waited for them from the 4th of April, set sail on the 24th of August, and arrived on the 23d of the next month at Diou. The governor went to receive the patriarch at his landing, and offered to convey him to the city in his own chair, which, after having excused himself, he was obliged to accept of ; for, upon trying to walk, he found his legs so weak, and his head so disordered,

dered, that he was not able to move a step. He kept his bed several days, and continued six weeks at Diou, to recover from the fatigues of so long a voyage, after so severe a confinement. He landed at Goa on the 19th of December, and had a public audience soon after of Don Pedro de Silva, who had succeeded the Count de Linares in the government of the Indies ; at which he gave him an account of the labours of the missionaries, of the progress they made in the reign of Sultan Segued, and the calamities they had suffered since the accession of Basilides ; of their exile, their captivity, and of the danger their brethren were in who chose to continue their residence in Abyssinia. He represented the urgent necessity of assisting the rise, and cherishing the growth, of the Catholic religion ; but the methods he proposed discovered more of the spirit of the warrior than of the bishop or missionary. He declared it as his opinion, that Mazua and Arkiko ought to be seized, a strong citadel to be built, and maintained by a numerous garrison. That one of the princes of Abyssinia ought to be got into Catholic hands, by winning over or conquering the commander that kept him prisoner ; that he ought to be set on the throne, and a civil war by that means be raised in Abyssinia.

Father Jerome Lobo spoke in much the same strain at Rome, which gave occasion to the Pope, the Cardinals, and all who were concerned in these affairs, to suspect that the missionaries had infected their preaching, and all their conduct, with a little of the martial spirit too natural to the Portuguese nation. The resistance made at Asfa and Fremona, the many expedients put in practice to bring back Rasela Christos from his exile ; the disobedience, or, to say more, the revolt of Zamariam, that zealous Catholic and eminent protector of the Jesuits, who, join-

ing himself to the enemies of the king at mount Lasta, died with his sword drawn against his sovereign, confirmed them in their opinion, that the Catholics and missionaries of Abyssinia were not sheep that would be dragged to the slaughter without murmuring.

The fathers Bruno Bruni and Lewis Cardeira retired with Zamariam to mount Salam, whom, it is said, they proposed to leave when he engaged in arms. However, they wrote to the bishop of Nice, and to the fathers Hyacinto Francisco, and Francisco Rodriguez, to come to them; but were answered by the pious missionaries, that they came hither to suffer and to labour, not to hide themselves or lie useless; that their lives were in the hands of God, and that they were resolved to resign them entirely to the disposal of his Providence. In which noble resolution they continued unshaken, and were not long before they obtained that crown which God hath prepared for those who leave all for him; being seized in June 1638, and hanged immediately. The other two fathers, notwithstanding the care they took to lie undiscovered, being at length found out, met the same fate with their glorious brethren. There now remained no more Jesuits in Abyssinia; and all the endeavours of the patriarch to send some thither were without effect.



## C H A P. III.

*Other missionaries are sent into Abyssinia. Their persecution and death. The patriarch attempts to send more. The vigilance of the emperor, who seizes his brother on suspicion, and puts him to death.*

**T**HE Pope and Cardinals being prejudiced against the conduct of the Jesuits, gave the charge of this mission to six French capuchins, who, under the direction of father Agatange, attempted the way into Abyssinia. Two of them arriving at Mazua were well received by the Bassa there; but no sooner entered into Abyssinia than they were apprehended in the disguise of Armenian merchants, and brought to Mark the Abuna, who discovering them to be Catholic priests, who came (as he said) to oppose and destroy the church of Alexandria, so enraged the people against them, that they were stoned on the spot. Such was his recompence of the civilities he received from father Agatange, and such the effect of the friendship contracted between them.

Two more were massacred at Magadoxo; and such had been the fate of the other two, had they not with great prudence continued at Mazua, under the protection of the Bassa; where their labours were so successful, that they brought back into the way of salvation several Abyssinia merchants who had been converted formerly by the Jesuits; but, for want of preachers and instructions, had relapsed into their former errors. The harvest in time grew too great for the labourers; and one of them, worn out by those holy employments, died in the beginning of the year 1642.

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The other, continuing to practise the duties of the mission, was assisted by two other fathers who came to share his labours. Their arrival gave the alarm to the emperor Basilides, who, having conceived a firm opinion that all the Catholic princes were in league with the Portuguese, was in continual apprehensions of some design against his empire or life; so that scarcely could a ship put in at Mazua or Suaquem, but he imagined it a fleet sent to invade his dominions. He therefore, upon the first account of the arrival of some Europeans at Suaquem, sends an ambassador to the Bassa with a large present, entreating him either to drive them out of the country, or put them to death.

This Bassa was not that generous man who had protected the Capuchins; but was as cruel and avaricious as his predecessor was humane and disinterested. No sooner had he received the ambassador's present, than he ordered the fathers to be seized; and calling for those two who came last thither, commanded their heads to be struck off in his presence. As he had some acquaintance with him that had resided longer there, he paid him the compliment of sending for his head.

After the death of this last, it was impossible to receive any account of the state of affairs in Abyssinia; though the patriarch, considering himself entrusted with the charge of the church of Ethiopia, omitted no endeavours to send assistance to the new converts. Those Jesuits who had already shared with him the labours of the mission, and had been forced with him out of Ethiopia, rather animated than discouraged by the death of their companions, offered to expose themselves to the same dangers, by returning thither; and accused their own cowardice which had lost them the crown of martyrdom.

One of these pious fathers, hoping by the credit of the Banians at Diou, who carry on a great trade in the Red sea, to be well received in Mazua, engaged in this undertaking; and, arriving at Suaquem on the 16th of May, went to pay his compliments to the Bassa as factor of the ship. He was well received; but notwithstanding his disguise, some time after discovered to be a Jesuit and a Portuguese. This was sufficient to alarm the whole country. The crafty Bassa sent for father Calaca; and, telling him of the good will he entertained towards the Jesuits and Portuguese, ordered him to return to the Indies with propositions for establishing a commerce with the viceroy. The father was to no purpose apprised of his intention; though he saw the snare, there was no avoiding it. He therefore went; and was no sooner out of the port, than the Bassa seized all his goods for his own use.

As to the proposals of traffic, the Bassa was in no care about them. The condition of a Turkish officer is too uncertain to allow him to entertain prospects of future advantages. He seized what was then within his reach; and was unconcerned at any thing further.

Father Botelho, afterwards being desirous to try his fortune, landed at Suaquem in a Turkish habit. Immediately upon his arrival, advice was sent to the emperor of Abyssinia, that a Portuguese Jesuit was come to that port. This intelligence raised all his passion; for being possessed by an opinion that the Portuguese were in arms against him, supported by all the powers of Europe, he made the strongest application to the Bassa, that he would not suffer a single Portuguese to reside in the neighbourhood of his dominions; and imagining that Claudius, his young brother, held a private correspondence with the Jesuits, he put him under an arrest.

This young prince's only crime was, that he was imagined

gined to adhere to the Roman church ; because he frequently, as the licentious lives of the Abuna and the rest of the clergy fell under his observation, would compare them with the constancy, piety, and modesty of the patriarch ; affirming, that the king his brother had not in his empire a preacher equal to him : than this, and the discharge of some of his domestics for having abjured the church of Rome, there needed nothing more to make the prince criminal at a time when to profess the Catholic religion was treason.

The king, resolving to secure the person of his brother, having placed some officers and soldiers in his palace, sends for the prince, under pretence of having some weighty affair to communicate ; then leading him through several apartments, gives the sign to some men, who were hid on purpose, to seize him. They fell upon him in an instant, and loading him with chains, led him to a prison fortified on purpose to secure him. All his children and dependants were arrested at the same time. The manner of proceeding against him was very compendious. The army was assembled, and the prince brought out bound. The king then, in an harangue to the multitude, accused his brother of having abandoned the religion of his ancestors, of designing to introduce the Portuguese into Abyssinia, and conspiring against his government and life.

When a man is accused by his king in person before a prejudiced crowd, incapable of separating the truth from the falsehood, he is easily found guilty. No sooner had the king ceased to speak, than the whole audience cried out for justice on a man so infamous for apostacy and treason. A sentence thus pronounced never fails to be speedily executed. The prince was remanded back to prison, and the same night lost his head.

**This**

This execution prepared a way for many others ; and all who were suspected of favouring either the prince or the Roman church shared in his sentence, and had their goods confiscated, and their persons confined. The persecution was carried on without regard to dignity, age, or sex. All these severities were not able to set the emperor's mind at quiet ; for, imagining that he had rather excited than suppressed the murmurs of his people, and increased the numbers as well as aggravated the malice of the malecontents, he thought it necessary to secure himself on his throne by leagues and alliances ; and therefore sent ambassadors to a Mahometan prince, with proposals of tolerating the exercise of his religion in Abyssinia, and a request that some of their learned men might be sent to instruct his people.

This important commission was trusted jointly to a Christian and Mahometan ; but the Mahometan, being more fully instructed in the extent of the emperor's project, treated his colleague with a contempt which is never forgiven ; and engrossed all the honours and presents which they were complimented with in the Mahometan country. Resentment of such usage made the Christian turn his whole thoughts upon defeating the design ; and scarce were they arrived at the frontiers of Abyssinia, before he publicly declared the whole intent of the negotiation. The Monks, at this news, were the first who took up arms ; and the people, by their persuasion and example, made a general insurrection. Nothing now was talked of but dethroning king Basilides, and setting up another prince more capable of standing up in defence of the religion of his country.

Never was Basilides more terrified. The people, tumultuous and enraged, could scarcely be prevailed upon to hear any defence. He denied all he had been charged

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ged with, and threw the whole upon the queen his mother, who still retained a great affection for the Mahometans, from whom she descended. This plea was confuted by the many personal interviews he had been observed to have with the Mahometan doctor, who came back with the ambassador of the same religion. Finding, that neither his crown nor his life could be preserved without bidding farewell to his new scheme, he sent away the Mahometan with as little noise as he could, loaded with honours and with riches.

This account, however, disputed by Mr Ludolf, who denies that any such design was ever on foot, and attempts to prove, by political arguments, the inconsistency of it with the emperor's interest ; affirming the emperor never was so cruel as to put his brother to death, is supported by the testimony of the father Bernard Nogueira, who was then in Ethiopia ; of Torquato Pisani, who, as it is reasonable to believe, was at Mazua; and of Alphonso Mendez, who heard it from some Abyssins who came into the Indies. Facts, proved by so many testimonies, ought to be confuted by some more solid arguments than vain conjectures and uncertain reasonings.

The persecution grew hotter every day ; and there were left but five Portuguese and four Abyssin priests to administer the sacraments to those who still continued stedfast in the Catholic religion. These, though they had hitherto escaped the fate of their brethren, suffered all the inconveniences of nakedness and hunger.

## C H A P. IV.

*The patriarch sends letters to father Nogueira. The emperor renews the persecution. His ill success in his other affairs.*

**A**LPHONSO MENDEZ, not discouraged by the ill success of so many adventurers, was continually studying new means for the relief of the Abyssinian Catholics. Two of his domestics were fortunate enough to find the way into Ethiopia, one of whom I take to be that Gregory, made so famous by the history of Mr Ludolf; and the time in which Gregory reports himself to have made his voyage strengthens my conjecture. After this there was no possibility of sending any messages to Abyssinia, or receiving any accounts from thence. The miserable state which the Catholics were apprehended to be in, was represented to the bishops and governor of the Indies in a most pathetic letter by father Nogueira, who, though worn out himself with miseries, could not forbear attempting something for the service of the converts of Abyssinia, and applied himself to the Banians. But those men, whose tenderness and compassion would not suffer them to put the most contemptible animal to death, could bear the moving entreaties and sorrowful relation of the father without being affected.

His letter, however, could not be read by the patriarch without the strongest emotions. That prelate, whose thoughts were always intent upon his church of Ethiopia, after having failed in all his attempts to send Jesuits into that country, at length pitched upon one George, an Abyssin, who had been many years in the service of the fathers ;

thers; imagining, that he, being acquainted with the country, would be better enabled to elude the diligence of the guards who were posted at the avenues.

This man, with a Banian his companion, after some delays, occasioned by a difference between the governor of Moca and the Bassa of Mazua, which had interrupted all commerce between those two ports, and consequently left them no means of travelling, arrived at Mazua; and by presents, having easily procured free passage through the Bassa's district, they continued their journey for two days; then stopping at Engana, sent letters to father Nogueira, who lay concealed in the country of the Agaus. It is not easy to describe his surprise at hearing that he was discovered, and enquired after. He could not be convinced that the messengers were any other than officers sent with a plausible pretence to ensnare and apprehend him. He read the letters over and over, and still continued incredulous; nor could he be brought to entertain any other opinion, though they gave him such tokens, as, had he been less disturbed, he would have known could be sent by none but the patriarch. At length, by the advice of his friends, he was prevailed with to go with the messengers, and came on the 24th of March to Engana, where, with a strange mixture of joy and grief, they heard and told their own calamities and those of their brethren.

About this time the emperor, being alarmed by some groundless reports of the preparations of the Portuguese, a tale which never failed to fill him with terror, and exasperate him against the Catholics, renewed the persecution with great fury, and issued out a proclamation for apprehending father Nogueira; and having, by the information of some who had returned to their former religion,  
detected



detected many Portuguese Catholics, put them all to death without mercy.

This emperor was only artful and fortunate in his attempts against his Catholic subjects, for almost every other undertaking miscarried. His general, Bela Christos, lost his army in the mountains of Lasta. The Galles, having ravaged one of his provinces, retreated without being attacked. His army revolted; and one of his kingdoms refused their tribute. The next year was even more unfortunate. His army, under Bela Christos, was almost entirely cut off; and, to complete his misfortunes, the king of Adel, hearing of all these losses, seized some rocks in his dominions, and from thence made inroads into his country. Mr Ludolf, notwithstanding all these unhappy accidents, affirms, that no emperor had ever a reign of more honour and tranquillity than Basilides after the expulsion of the Jesuits. But his conjectures are often only founded upon prejudice, and are not to be opposed to facts proved by such authentic testimonies as we can produce.

At this time the patriarch Alphonso Mendez died, in the seventy-seventh year of his age. He had all the qualities of a good and useful missionary, being blessed with an extraordinary degree of patience, resolution, zeal, and learning, yet his conduct seems liable to some censure; and it is not easy to excuse the rigour with which he insisted on the abolition of some ancient customs which the Abyssins had received with the truths of the gospel, and which have never yet been condemned by the church.

After the death of this prelate, we have very little knowledge of what happened in the interior regions of Abyssinia; and have no other memoirs to make use of for continuing our relation, than what we have received from Cairo.

## C H A P. V.

*Mr Poncet goes into Ethiopia. Comes back with a pretended ambassador. Is well received at Paris and at Rome. An envoy arrives at Paris from the patriarch of Alexandria.*

**A**GI ALI, factor to the king of Abyssinia, was afflicted with the same distemper with the king his master and the prince, and had applied himself, in his enquiry for a physician, to the Franciscan missionaries of Italy; which the consul of France hearing of, procured that Agi Ali should have recourse to him. After some conversation about the king's distemper, the consul told him of a physician among his attendants who had more skill than any other in the world; and engaged the Abyssin to make use of him. This learned physician was James Charles Poncet, a surgeon of Franche-Comté, who undertook and performed the cure. This success so increased his reputation, that nothing now was talked of but the French physician.

Every thing was got ready for the departure of Monsieur Poncet, and his journey into Abyssinia. The father Brevedent, a Jesuit of Roan, who was influenced by no motives but zeal and charity, was resolved to go as companion of this surgeon, newly dignified with the title of physician; and without so much as waiting for the orders of his superiors, changing his dress and his name, went away with Mr Poncet.

Two companions, of tempers more different, were never known. The surgeon was a man of a roving mind, without the least sense of either honour or religion, and of parts below the middle rank of mankind; who knew  
nothing

nothing but lying, and imposed upon all that had any thing to do with him. The Jesuit was a man full of religious sentiments, of a placid and soft temper, and of great learning; and sacrificed himself with no other view than of promoting the glory of God. Agi Ali, the principal man of the company, was more subtle and crafty than Mt Poncet; and, like him, made no scruple of sacrificing his honesty to his interest.

They set out with the caravan, which was obliged to stay a long time in upper Egypt for fear of the Arabs. The only letter that was ever received from father Brevedent was dated from Sanaar, on the 15th of February 1699. In this letter he informs us, that they left Cantata, on the banks of the Nile, the 2d of October; that they travelled for five days cross a desert, which begins at that place, without finding any water, except within a days journey of Helaone, a large village inhabited by Turks, and governed by a Chec, whose jurisdiction extends to thirty smaller villages; that after having travelled in two days from Helaone to Chab, and in three from Chab to Selima, they entered an horrid desert, where no living animal, not even a fly, was to be seen; and the ways were marked by the carcases of camels that had died in passing it. No other creature is capable of undergoing such fatigues, and he was told by an old man of the company, that the camels of those caravans that march westward from the banks of the Nile, are sometimes forty days without eating; for they cannot eat unless they drink, and they sometimes find no water in that time. After passing this desert, they stopped at Machou to refresh themselves, after the labours of so fatiguing a march. Here the men and women wear no other cloaths than an apron. The women only dress their heads by braiding their hair. The men of quality distinguish themselves

themselves by hanging a sword at their left arm, and carrying a lance in their right. Their houses are nothing but huts of clay, and the straw of doras, a grain of which they make four bread, and a drink very intoxicating. This country breeds excellent horses, and is governed by a Cheik.

Not far distant is the isle of Argo, which hath its governor, or Ahab. Here the physician gave remedies to the Cheik and governor, and performed several cures. Here are many houses along the bank of the Nile. A days journey from Machou or Moscho is the village of Harril. On the 13th of November the caravan arrived at Dongola, the commander of which takes upon him the stile of King, or Malek, which is corruptly pronounced Mek, though he is set up and deposed at the pleasure of the king of Sanaar. During a long stay which they made at Dongola, the Cheik Gandil treated the physician and father several days at Corry, a place two days journey from Dongola, and gave them provisions to pass the desert of Bebouda. They left Dongola the 19th of January, and on the 23d came to Derreira on the Nile, which they had left for some days, marching to the westward, to escape those troops that had revolted from the king of Sanaar. On the 26th they left Derreira, and on the 28th passed a branch of the Nile, and lodged that evening at Guelri, where they found the country better peopled than any they had passed through. After they came from Egypt, the villages are large, and the roofs, on account of the rains, raised in form of a pyramid. On the 6th of February, having crossed the river again, they lodged at Herbagi; and having rested there two days, arrived on the 12th at Sanaar. Thus far father Brevedent.

These travellers were detained three whole months at  
Sanaar;

Sanaar ; so that the rains began before they came to Jessim. a place in the mid-way between Sanaar and the frontiers of Abyssinia. The father Brevedent, weakened by a distemper, and harassed beyond his strength by so toilsome a march, died at Braco, with that hope and consolation which accompanies the last hours of those who have lived in the fear and died in the service of God.

Nothing being heard either from father Brevedent or Mr Poncet, the fathers Grenier and Paulet, two Jesuits, being impatient to go into Ethiopia, set out on their journey thither, without staying for proper informations. By the recommendation of the French consul, they were well received at Sanaar ; and being introduced to the Abyssinian ambassador, who was then concluding a peace between the two kingdoms, left Sanaar in his train on the 26th of May. Had they staid at Cairo long enough to have seen Mr Poncet's letters, which came some time after their departure, they would perhaps have been less eager of entering into a kingdom which it is so difficult to return out of. Mr Poncet tells the French consul in his letter to him, that in his opinion no missionary will ever be received in Ethiopia. Such an inveterate hatred being conceived there against the Franks, that, upon the news of his arrival, the religious, to the number of an hundred thousand, rose in a tumultuous manner ; and the like insurrection happened upon advice that an English ship was seen on their coast. He tells of great favours received from Negus ; and that Agi Ali, for having robbed him and his companion on the road, was closely confined ; and that his house was sold for Mr Poncet's use. This letter was written at Gedda, on the 6th of December 1700. In the beginning of January, Mr Poncet set out on his return, and wrote from Suez, that he had seen the Abyssinian ambassador. He arrived at Cairo the 20th of June, and the ambassador on the next day.

Different opinions have been formed of Murat Eben Magdeloun, for so the ambassador was named. Some affirm, that they have seen him before at Cairo in a condition very different from the character he assumed; others say he was the son of Murat, who was then the emperor's prime minister, and of whom it may not be improper to give some account.

This man, settling in Abyssinia in the time of the emperor Basilides, made several voyages on account of trade to Batavia; and went thither in 1678, where he had those conferences with Paul de Rod which Mr Ludolf hath published under the name of the present state of Ethiopia. He was received as envoy of the emperor, and persuaded the Dutch to fit out some vessels in prospect of an advantageous trade with the Abyssins; but these vessels returned back with the same lading which they took out. Murat, coming again some time after, took back with him an envoy from the Dutch East India company; and when they came to Moca, promised to fetch him a passport, which was necessary for his entering that empire, and demanded the presents which were designed for the emperor, but being refused them went away; and the Hollander, having waited a year to no purpose, came back to Batavia.

Murat Eben Magdeloun was not so dexterous as old Murat; he imposed on none but those that were willing to be cheated; and it was prudent advice which was given him to stay at Cairo, and entrust father Verseau, superior of the missions of Syria, the consul's chancellor, and Mr Poncet, with the letters and presents from the emperor of Abyssinia to the king. These three deputies came to Paris about the end of the year 1701, and Mr Poncet made his appearance in that city with a robe and a bracelet presented him in Abyssinia.

While

Whilst this surgeon, or physician, was carried about from house to house, where, being in no danger of contradiction, he vented his falsehoods without scruple. Murat's credentials were examined by persons skilled in the oriental tongues, and acquainted with the customs and history of the Abyssinians, who could not find in it any proofs of its being a credential letter, but detected many faults of the expression and orthography. The confession of faith, which the kings of Abyssinia always make in the beginning of their letters, was very imperfect; and especially, they were surprised to find at the end of the letter, Given at Gondar, the capital of Ethiopia. For the word Gondar, or Guender, as Mr Ludolf writes it, signifies only a camp; and Axuma is the capital of Abyssinia.

Notwithstanding these proofs of forgery, Murat was considered as an ambassador; presents were sent him for himself and his master; his charges at Cairo were defrayed by the king's order; and it was resolved that this embassy should be returned by another, and a mission of Jesuits maintained in Ethiopia at the king's expence.

This was what the fathers of the missions wished for; and nothing was talked of but uniting to the Catholic church infinite numbers so long separated from it. In the midst of this discourse, arrived at Paris, one Ibrahim d'Hanna, of the religion of the Maronites, sent by the patriarch of Alexandria; who, on his landing at Marseilles, wrote by father Fleuriau's means to the secretary of the navy, that the affair might be kept secret, for fear of awakening the jealousy of the Turks. This precaution was too late, the Turks having already published their Olla or edict, to prohibit the Franks from passing into Abyssinia.

While Ibrahim d'Hanna was in France, father Verseau, and Mr Poncet were pressing the affair at Rome with the most earnest solicitations, being introduced to an audi-

ence of the Pope by the Cardinal de Janson himself, and well received by his Holiness, who, in an encomium on the Jesuits, termed them the pillars of the church. But the reformed Monks of St Francis in Italy, having obtained two years before a grant of the mission of Ethiopia, in opposition to the claim of the Jesuits, spake with great contempt of the patriarch of Alexandria, and made no scruple to affirm, that the letters brought by Murat, and presented to his Holiness by father Verseau, were counterfeit, and that they had the true ones. It was uncertain which of these bold competitors ought to be credited. Mr Poncet's letters, however, seem to carry evident marks of forgery, as will appear from the words in which the emperor addresses the Pope. "I am convinced, says he, that the calamities with which my kingdoms and people have been afflicted, proceed from no other cause than our separation from the head of the church. Send me two or three skilful missionaries to instruct me in the faith, and repair the loss of father Brevedent." This good and pious missionary, who died before his arrival at Gondar, was never seen by the emperor, or known in Abyssinia by any other name than that of Joseph ; nor is he mentioned by any other name in the letters to the king of Sanaar.

Ibrahim d'Hanna had his charges at Paris defrayed by the mission of Syria, and was treated as an ambassador, being admitted to many conferences with the minister of the navy. He had the honour of concerting the affair with the king, who agreed to all the patriarch's proposals. And being presented with a gold medal, and furnished with money for his voyage, he left Paris at the end of October, and came to Rome in the beginning of the year 1703, where he had audience of the Pope and of Cardinal Barberino prefect of the congregation  
for



for propagating the faith. Yet notwithstanding the protection and countenance of the Cardinal de Janson, his credit, and the reality of his commission, were called in question. Nor would the court of Rome come to any determination, till they had sent one Gabriel, a Maronite, who was then at Rome, to Cairo, that he might examine the matter to the bottom.

The patriarch of Alexandria freely owned that he had sent him, though he had before denied it to the consul of France. And being asked whether he had resolved to submit himself to the Pope, and acknowledge the authority of the church of Rome, he gave the messenger a profession of his faith, sound and orthodox enough, but could never be prevailed on to sign it. This ambiguous behaviour sufficiently acquitted Ibrahim from any suspicion of fraud, but made the intentions of the patriarch very much suspected.

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## C H A P. VI.

*The miscarriage of Mr Poncet's second voyage. Mr du Roule sets out on his journey to Abyssinia. Is opposed and calumniated. He arrives at Sanaar, and is assassinated there by the king's command.*

**I**N the mean time, Mr Poncet arrived from Rome at Cairo, and made all the necessary dispositions for a second voyage into Abyssinia, being accompanied by Murat the ambassador, who was now sent back loaded with presents and testimonials of his good conduct, with letters for the king his master, and the prime minister. This company left Cairo on the 6th of October 1703, in order

order to go to Suez, where father de Bernat, a Jesuit, waited for them, and embarked for Gedda on the 3d of December. They were soon so unhappy as to disagree amongst themselves. Mr Poncet, in a letter, makes heavy complaints of Murat; whose disposition, he says, he did not know before this voyage to Gedda. He forgets that it was he who raised him to the dignity of an ambassador, that he was received upon his word, and being now somewhat dissatisfied with his behaviour, endeavours to represent him as a man of the vilest character, and a declared enemy to all Franks, who will, as far as he can, hinder their reception in Ethiopia; and to confirm his assertions, he appeals to father Bernat. For his own part, he declares himself ready to shed his blood for the honour of the king; yet, in the midst of all these protestations, instead of going forward into Abyssinia, he wanders into other countries, with the chest of medicines bought at the king's charge for this voyage; and abandoning the large possessions which had been given him in Ethiopia, and the wife which he had married there; he, after having rambled from place to place, died at Ispahan. Such was the fate of this worthless man, who had been too much caressed and believed.

Murat, fearing the punishment which would certainly be inflicted on him at his return into Ethiopia, under pretence of going to Mazua, went to Mascate, and ended his life there. Father Bernat, much chagrined at finding himself in so bad company, and entirely disabled from continuing his journey, returned to Cairo in the beginning of April.

All these miscarriages might have discouraged James de Noir, better known by the name of du Roule, who was pitched upon to go as ambassador to the emperor of Ethiopia. He was so far from being ignorant of what  
had

had passed, that he had borne a principal part in all these affairs; yet was resolved, after having concerted measures with the minister of the navy, to run the hazard. No voyage was ever undertaken with omens less auspicious, or concluded with success less happy.

He embarked at Toulon on the 26th of December 1703, in a ship commanded by the Chevalier de Fourbie, who was appointed to convoy thirty-six merchant ships to several coasts of the Mediterranean. In the afternoon there rose so violent a tempest that the fleet was all dispersed, and so shattered that they were incapable of pursuing their voyage till the 8th of February. It is unnecessary to trouble the reader with all the tempests they felt, all the dangers they were exposed to, and all the obstacles they met with; which were so many, that they were four months in sailing from Toulon to Egypt.

Here the ambassador lost no time, but prepared every thing with the utmost diligence for his journey into Abyssinia. But some knowledge of his design having, notwithstanding all his care to keep it secret, got abroad, many difficulties occurred, which were only to be surmounted by the power of money.

The Sieur de Roule left Cairo on the 19th of July 1704, and was followed to the boat by great numbers of people with tears in their eyes. It is said that the merchants, who had openly opposed this expedition at Cairo, still continued to use all their arts to force him to return; and that the Italian Franciscans, imagining that by his means a mission of Jesuits would be established in Abyssinia, caballing with the merchants, gave notice to the Arabs of the departure of the envoy; and engaged them to threaten that they would rob the caravan, if he was admitted to travel with it. The envoy himself adds, that a report was spread at Siout, that he was going

ing to the king of Abyssinia to teach him to make powder and cast cannon, and to engage him in a war against the Turks. The reports, though void of all appearance of truth, were sufficient however to gain credit with this people, who, besides their natural suspicion and jealousy, were pleased with every thing that gave them an opportunity of squeezing money from him.

The Sieur du Roule had been at great expence in presents to secure Belac, the chief of the caravan, in his interest, and had received from him many promises of service, confirmed by the most solemn oaths ; which however had been all broken, had not a messenger arrived with fresh orders from the Bassa of Cairo to the commander of Siout, which being read to the chiefs of the caravan, they swore never to separate from the envoy, but to run all hazards with him.

The commander of Siout told the envoy all the measures concerted between the French merchants and Italian Franciscans to disappoint his design ; and Belac informed him, that the patriarch of the Cophtes had insinuated to the chief persons of the caravan, that the Franks who were travelling with them were not merchants, and that their intention was to cut the banks of the Nile ; for which reason they ought to be cautious of admitting them into their company.

The caravan left Siout on the 12th of September ; and after having passed the two deserts, came on the 18th of October to Moscho, where the envoy was informed that the Italian Franciscans had left Sanaar, whether of their own accord or by compulsion he doth not say. This was the last letter received from the Sieur du Roule ; what news was afterwards heard of him came by indirect ways ; and a report was spread about

about the country that he was assassinated, a melancholy preface of what afterwards came to pass.

He arrived at Sanaar about the end of May 1705, where he was received with great marks of respect. The king sent two of his officers to meet him, and lodged him in the house of his late prime minister, whom he had not long before put to death. The minister who succeeded him seemed inclined to enter into an intimate acquaintance with the French envoy, coming often to see him, and entertaining him at his own house with great familiarity. He even gave him some hints, that he had a mind to go with him into Abyssinia.

Hitherto every thing answered the envoy's wishes; and it is said, that the cause of his fatal end was, that he reposed too much confidence in the king and his first minister, and neglecting to secure the good-will of the other officers, exasperated them to his ruin. The accident, which put it in their power to do him so great an injury, was this: The king having obtained a victory over his rebels, there was a public feast kept at Sanaar. The envoy, thinking he ought on this occasion to display all his magnificence, had set out some looking-glasses, which brought all the city to his house. The king's women, who are rarely permitted to go out, could not forbear gratifying their curiosity with a view of these rarities, and above all, were astonished at those glasses which multiply objects; and imagining this could not be the effect of natural causes, represented the envoy and his retinue as magicians, who had ill designs against the king. The whole show added new incitements to the avarice of the officers, and perhaps of the king himself; so that a few days after, he sent to demand of the envoy three thousand piasters; and being refused, let the ambassador know by Macé, his interpreter, that his refusal might bring him  
and

and his retinue into danger. The demand was repeated several times, and Mr du Roule still continued obstinate. Not to protract the relation, on the 25th of November the king sent three hundred men to seize the envoy in his house, with all his retinue; and carrying them into the market-place, first cut him in pieces, and afterwards his attendants. The envoy underwent his fate with great resolution, and exhorted his company to behave themselves in the same manner. Their bodies lay exposed for some time; and it was observed, that neither bird nor beast of prey did them any injury.

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## C H A P. VII.

*Several revolutions happened in Abyssinia. The emperor's letter relating to the death of Mr du Roule. The endeavours of the French consul to revenge it.*

ONE Elias, a Syrian, who was to have attended Mr du Roule as his interpreter, had arrived at the dominions of Negus; and having told that prince, according to his instructions, that the French professed the same religion with the Cophtes, had been well received; and upon this recommendation was permitted by the emperor to return to Mr du Roule, and one of his officers was named to go with him in compliment to the envoy; and was ordered to provide him all the carriages he had occasion for in his journey from Sanaar. This officer unhappily spent too much time either in getting ready his equipages or other amusements, and came to Sanaar three days after the murder of the envoy.

The king of Sanaar and his council imagined they  
might

might excuse their crime by charging Mr du Roule and his company with magic ; but the Abyssin returned very little satisfied with this plea.

A great revolution happened at that time in Abyssinia, by a revolt of the people ; who, being headed by the emperor's eldest son, dethroned the emperor, and put him to death. The cause of this general defection is not known. Indeed, if we could be convinced of the genuineness of the letter presented by the Recolet missionaries to the Pope, there would be no need of enquiring farther. It appears from Mr Poncet's narrative how nice the nation, and particularly the clergy, are in every thing that bears the least relation to religion ; and how much they detest the Europeans ; their aversion even extends to every thing that is white.

It was not known at Cairo, when the account was received of the assassination of the envoy, what was the fate of the deposed emperor. Some affirmed that he was killed, others maintained that he concealed himself in some corner of his kingdom, in expectation of a favourable opportunity to attack his son.

Elias the interpreter, who was on the road to meet the envoy, having heard of this new revolution in Abyssinia went back, and put the letters, which he had received from Jason the late king, into the hands of Teklimanout, who had newly taken possession of the throne. Teklimanout directed that they should be copied in his own name ; and commanded Elias to take the road to Sanaar. Elias, in pursuance of the king's order, set out, and was come within three days journey of Sanaar when he heard of the envoy's unfortunate end ; then, thinking it not proper to proceed farther, returned to the emperor, who was enraged at the relation of the massacre, and in his passion wrote the following letter.

To

*To the Pacha, and the lords commanders of the militia at Cairo, from the king of Abyssinia, the king Teklimanout, son of the king of the church of Abyssinia.*

“ FROM the august king, powerful arbiter of nations,  
 “ the shadow of God upon earth, the guide of the  
 “ kings who profess the religion of the Messiah, the most  
 “ mighty of Christian kings, he who keeps peace be-  
 “ tween the Mussulmans and Christians, protector of  
 “ the boundaries of Alexandria, observer of the precepts  
 “ of the gospel, inheriting from his father a mighty  
 “ kingdom, issue of the lineage of David and Solomon:  
 “ May the blessing of Israel be upon our prophet, and  
 “ upon them; may their felicity be lasting, their power  
 “ permanent, and their mighty forces always formidable:  
 “ To the mighty lord, exalted by his power, venerable  
 “ for his merits, distinguished by his strength and wealth  
 “ among the Mussulmans, the refuge of all that reve-  
 “ rence him; whose prudence governs and guides the  
 “ army of the noble empire, and commands upon its  
 “ frontiers, the victorious viceroy of Egypt, the confines  
 “ of which shall always be defended and revered,  
 “ So be it: And to all illustrious princes, judges, doc-  
 “ tors, and other officers who are constituted for the  
 “ support of order and government, and in general  
 “ to all potentates; may God preserve them in their  
 “ high stations, and in the dignity of salvation. It is  
 “ known to you, that our ancestors have never been at  
 “ enmity with other kings, nor ever given them any  
 “ molestation, or shown any token of malice; but on  
 “ the contrary afforded proofs of their friendship on all  
 “ occasions; in generously assisting them, in relieving  
 “ their necessities; whether in matters relating to the ca-  
 “ ravan and pilgrims of Mecca, in Arabia the happy, in  
 “ India,



“ India, Persia, or other remote and unfrequented places; in succouring those who laboured under pressing necessities. Nevertheless the King of France, our brother, who professeth the same law, and the same faith, having been moved by such tokens of amity exhibited on our part, as ought to be practised; and having sent an ambassador to us, I am informed that you have stopped him at Sanaar, and also Morad the Syrian, sent by us to the ambassadors, whom you have put under an arrest, and have by so doing violated the law of nations. Since the ambassadors of kings ought to be at liberty, and to pass where they will, and to be treated with honour, and not hindered or molested; neither ought any dues or tribute to be exacted from them. It is in our power to return the injury, if we pleased to revenge the insult offered by you to our messenger. The Nile might be made the instrument of our vengeance, God having placed in our hands its fountain, its passage, and its increase, and put it in our power to make it do good or harm. At present we require and exhort you to cease from offering any injury to our ambassadors, and from disquieting us by stopping those who are on their way to us. You shall suffer them without hindrance to continue their journey, going and coming freely, according to their own convenience, whether they be our subjects or those of France; and whatever you shall do to them, we shall esteem done to ourselves.”

*Subscribed.—To the pacha, princes, and lords commanders in the city of Grand Cairq, whom God favour with his mercies.*

*This letter is written in Arabic without date.*

The crime of Teklimanout, in robbing his father of his crown and life, made him detested by all mankind. His reign was short and unquiet ; and ended at last in his being assassinated by his own troops as he was preparing to march against the king of Sanaar. Tetilis, the brother of Ayason or Jason, succeeded him ; and after a reign of three years and some months, was dethroned by Oustas his sister's son, and his first minister. Oustas was soon deposed by David, the second son of Ayason. All these revolutions happening in a very short time, prevented the Abyssins from punishing the murder of Mir du Roule. The French consul, who had borne the greatest part in the direction of this embassy, sought all opportunities of revenging the envoy's death ; and calling the French merchants at Cairo together, told them how he had been cut in pieces in sight of the king of Sanaar ; animating them to join with him in seeking some means of revenging so public an injustice. They immediately came to an agreement to discharge all the Nubians that were in their service. A memorial was likewise given to the Bassa, who was going to take upon him the command of Suaquem and Mazua, and that side of Ethiopia, entreating him to lend his assistance in the punishment of the king of Sanaar, for a crime committed against the law of nations ; and in the recovery of thirty thousand piasters, and four thousand sequins, which the envoy had with him at the time when he was killed. The largeness of this sum is a sufficient proof at how vast an expence this mighty design of penetrating into Abyssinia, and of establishing a trade, and the Catholic religion in that country, is to be carried on ; a design which, to all who have any knowledge of that empire and its inhabitants, will appear chimerical and impracticable.

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DISSERTATION

UPON

Mr LUDOLF'S HISTORY OF ABYSSINIA.

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I KNOW not any man in Europe who has applied himself to the study of the Abyssin language with so much assiduity as the late Mr Ludolf. He hath laboured in it near sixty years with very little assistance, and without being discouraged by any difficulties. If this language be not more known in Europe than it is, or is likely ever to be, it is not to be imputed to him, who has spared no pains to facilitate the study of it. He has given us a grammar and a dictionary, and has inserted in his history long passages written in that language, extracted out of manuscripts; yet all this hath not yet prevailed with many to become his disciples. We have scarce any intercourse with the Abyssins. It is difficult to pass into their country, and still more difficult to pass out of it; and had not the Portuguese been at several times called into Abyssinia, we had known no more of it than we do of the more inland kingdoms of Africa, or of those southern countries into

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which no man hath yet entered. Besides there are very few writings in that language, either printed or manuscript. The Abyssins, excelling in no kind of literature, have published scarce any books ; and those which they have published cannot be procured. No man would employ his life in mastering a language of no use either in commerce or learning. The example of Mr Ludolf himself, far from giving any invitation to that study, is sufficient to divert any such design ; for, after having made the knowledge of that tongue his principal employment, after having laid out all his time upon it, and read every thing that could be found written in it, he had not been in a condition to write ten pages of the history of Abyssinia, had he not had recourse to that of father Baltazar Teller, a Portuguese Jesuit.

Gregory, that learned Abyssin, on whom he heaps so many commendations, is certainly a very bad guide ; and we cannot help saying, that either Mr Ludolf and Gregory did not understand one another, or that Gregory was very ignorant in his own religion ; for no Abyssin, who had enjoyed the least advantages of instruction, ever embraced those sentiments or declared them. But whatever might be his qualities, the patriarch Alphonso Mendez, who hath taken so much care to transmit to posterity the names of those that adhered to him, hath not said a word of him. This omission is no proof that he had greater abilities, or an exacter knowledge of his religion, than others ; and his whole conduct, and all his answers to Mr Ludolf, are contradictions to the many praises bestowed upon him. Where this Abyssin fails him, Mr Ludolf produces another evidence whose authority is of equal weight. This is Murat the Armenian, who, when he was trading at Batavia, was examined at Mr Ludolf's request, about the present state of religion in Abyssinia.

Murat,

Murat, whose thoughts were more upon his merchandise than any thing else, was not very capable of making any satisfactory answer to their enquiries; nor can I easily persuade myself that he would have gratified them with an exact information, though he had been able to do it. This was the man who imposed upon the Hollanders with promises of a wealthy commerce on the coasts of the Red sea, as hath been already related.

But what need there was of the testimony of either Gregory or Murat is not easy to understand; nor can any just reason be assigned, why he did not rather consult the liturgies which he had in his possession; why he neglected to publish them when he was pressed to it; why he wrote to Batavia rather than to Cairo; and enquired of the Dutch merchants rather than of the patriarch of Alexandria. We should wonder at the conduct of that man, who should write to Armenia for information about the religion of the Moscovites; and should address himself to the Armenian traders rather than to the patriarch of Moscow. There would be strong reasons for saying, that if his search was after truth, he took very uncommon methods to discover it; yet in this manner has Mr Ludolf acted, and has been guilty of the greatest absurdities in his account of the creed of the Abyssins.

Several learned men were dissatisfied with Mr Ludolf's work; and amongst the rest Mr Piques, one of his correspondents, wrote his opinion to him with so much freedom, that, notwithstanding the friendship between them, it was the occasion of a difference. Some of the letters that passed between them having been communicated to the Author of these Dissertations, by father le Quien, the reader may not be displeased with an extract from them.

Mr Ludolf observes to Mr Piques, the necessity of a  
 good discernment to distinguish truth from falsehood in  
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the relations of the Abyssinian affairs ; and remarks how little credit is to be given to the narratives of the missionaries, who prove their zeal for the Catholic religion by inventing false accounts, or by depending upon false information ; some from ignorance and unskilfulness, others from insincerity and disregard of truth : and charges Wanslab of having been guilty of the latter in those accounts of Egypt which he hath published in Europe ; loading both his writings and his personal character with the severest censures. He speaks of a collection of the subscriptions of the eastern bishops, testifying their belief of the doctrine of transubstantiation, kept in the Abbey of St German. On this he lays no great stress ; and declares it as his opinion, that the eastern churches, if they hold a transubstantiation, believe only that the bread is changed into the body of Christ, according to his words literally taken,—*This is my body which is given for you* ; and not into his person as consisting of soul and body, of the divine and human nature ; and consequently, that since they do not imagine it transformed into the divine nature, they do not adore it as God. The soul and divine nature of our Saviour (they say) was not given for us ; and therefore, admitting the literal sense of the words, the bread is not transformed into that nature. He approves the notion of Mr de Piques, that, in order to arrive at the knowledge of the religion of any country, their catechisms and liturgies ought to be consulted ; and that is not safe to depend upon depositions procured *prece vel pretio*, by entreaties or bribes, or answers made to questions proposed by one party, without admitting those of the contrary opinion to use the same method of examination. He says, that the ambassador who procured this heap of testimonies, by convening an assembly of bishops and priests, who subscribed to these opinions, might

might have saved both his labour and his money, if he had only made extracts of their confessions, catechisms, and liturgies, which would have sufficiently explained their true sentiments. He concludes with a postscript, that Mr de Piques does him wrong in imagining he gives more credit to the Armenian, than to Wansleb or Olearius.

Mr de Piques, in his answer to Mr Ludolf, observes, that to inform one's self of the religion of a country, it is not sufficient to enquire of the first man that can be met with ; that application ought to be made to those who profess it, and that even the answers of one of those can never be a sufficient foundation for a positive assertion, unless corroborated by the authority of more ; that it is unfair to embarrass them with studied and sophistical interrogatories ; and that the most probable way of discovering the truth, is to desire a plain narrative account of their opinions and practice, and to act as if we were desirous of being their converts. There is nothing in this conduct (says he) of artifice or insidiousness. He then taxes Mr Ludolf with a neglect of this method, and with endeavouring, by various questions, to ensnare Gregory, and draw from him an answer conformable to his own inclinations ; and remarks with an air of triumph, that the answers of Murat the Armenian are not agreeable to the character of ignorance given him by Mr Ludolf. He relates a conversation with two gentlemen, who, having read Mr Ludolf's book, make no difficulty of insinuating that he has been defective in impartiality and sincerity ; and, in a second letter, after some compliments, pursues his design of proving the same opinions to be held by the Ethiopian as by the Roman church.

These two letters were written with so much heat and zeal in defence of the Roman church, which he perceived attacked, that Mr Ludolf could not bear the free-

dom taken with his character; and his resentment rose so high, that their correspondence was entirely broken off.

These letters may furnish us with instances of some inconsistency in Mr Ludolf's conduct, who has given the world the answers of the Armenian Murat, or Morad, as an authentic and satisfactory account of the present state of Abyssinia, particularly with respect to religion. He is pleased to forget that the Armenian merchants, who, like Murat, ramble over the world, seldom have any other religion than their traffic. But when, in a private correspondence, he is pressed to declare the truth, he confesses that the Armenian is a man so ignorant, that, like Mahomet, he neither could write nor read; and adds in the conclusion of his letter: You do me wrong if you imagine I give more credit to the Armenian than to Wansleb or Olearius. How Mr Ludolf will reconcile this character of his informer, with the regard which he has shewn to his information, is not easy to discover. He has published the answers of this illiterate Armenian, in thirty-two folio pages, with the pompous title of *A new Account of the present state of Abyssinia, lately brought from the Indies*. It was sure with some other intention than of swelling his volume, or of shewing, that, besides his knowledge of the Ethiopic language, which was of little use to him in compiling his history, he had nothing that could recommend him to the esteem of the world.

His answer to the second question proposed to him is a sufficient proof either of his ignorance or his falsehood. Being asked who was the present king of Abyssinia, what was his name, and who were his progenitors? He answers, That Susuens, who embraced the Roman religion, after having struggled with many bloody wars and intestine commotions, died in the year 1632, leaving his kingdom involved in calamities; but his son Basilides, having



having thrown off the religion of Rome, and expelled the fathers of the mission, reigned thirty-two years undisturbed; and by many victories re-established the power of the Abyssins, then almost expiring, and restored his kingdom to a flourishing condition. Murat, it is evident, was either himself unacquainted with the subject he talked of, or knowingly imposed upon the enquirers, when he told them of the quiet reign of Basilides. The persecution of the Jesuits began in 1632, they were expelled in 1634, after which many missionaries and Catholics were put to death. The many calamities that happened to the kingdom are related in a letter of father Bernard Nogueira, which affords abundant proof that king Basilides was guilty of putting his brother to death, and of sending to the king of Yemen for Mahometan preachers to convert his people; so that Mr Ludolf has no just reason to call in question facts so well attested. But he sometimes supplies a deficiency in his memoirs out of his own imagination, and expects of his readers that they should be satisfied with weak reasons, when he has no stronger to offer. While Mr Ludolf had Gregory with him, he made him say what he pleased; and Gregory was his only favourite. He procured his picture to be engraved, and wrote his encomium. Now, says he, we come to Gregory the Abyssin, to whom we are indebted for a great part of our Ethiopic history, and for a more exact knowledge of the Abyssinian tongue. He had in his youth applied himself to learning, and such was his proficiency, that he acquired great reputation among his countrymen, and was dignified with the title of Abba.

Mr Ludolf would have been perhaps much at a loss, if it had been demanded, what course of studies this celebrated Abyssin had passed through; and what became of his

his genius after he arrived at Germany ; for, however he may praise him, he sometimes makes him speak like a man whose genius was not very elevated, or learning very extensive ; and has himself very much diminished his encomiums in the preface to the last edition of his dictionary. As to Gregory my Abyssinian, says he, whose authority I sometimes made use of in the preface to my former edition, he, though a man of some learning, was often doubtful about the signification of words which more rarely occur, and of very many was entirely ignorant, as he made no scruple to confess in his letters and conversation. This is the doctor whom Mr Ludolf consults and follows in his account of the religion of Abyssinia. This is the man whose authority he prefers to the liturgies that were in his hands, and which he was importuned to make public. No man, it is true, in Europe, hath ever equalled, or perhaps ever will equal, Mr Ludolf in the knowledge of the Ethiopic language ; but that knowledge hath been of no great advantage to him in writing his history. As to any use it might have been of to the church, Mr Ludolf's insincerity hath deprived us of it. The Abyssinians are Jacobites, but he hath represented them as Lutherans or Calvinists ; and while he endeavours to excuse some abuses which have crept in amongst them, charges them with erroneous tenets which they do not hold. He hath transformed the church of Abyssinia into an imaginary church, which hath no existence, but in his own imagination.

John Michael Wansleb, whom Mr Ludolf treats with so much severity, was a native of Erford ; who, having learned the Ethiopic language under Mr Ludolf, was sent by the Duke of Saxony, to pass, if possible, into Abyssinia, and collect all the liturgies he could meet with ; Mr Ludolf having insinuated to this prince, that those  
liturgies

liturgies would furnish some arguments in favour of Lutheranism. Wansleb could not go into Abyssinia, but met, however, with a great number of liturgies, part of which he purchased; and, upon examining them, was convinced of his errors; and, being converted, took the Dominican habit at Rome. Afterwards, going into France, he was presented to Mr Colbert, by Mr Boileau bishop of Montpellier, as a person of extraordinary skill in the oriental tongues. That minister, whose chief enquiry was after men capable of executing those grand designs he had formed, of spreading his master's glory through the world, was in extacies at meeting this man, whom he sent very soon into the Levant, with a commission to purchase all the oriental manuscripts he could find. Wansleb bought above five hundred manuscripts and sent them to the king's library, but could not pursue his orders of passing into Ethiopia. He returned to France in 1676, and died a few years after.

He had printed at London, in 1661, the liturgy of Dioscorus, patriarch of Alexandria; and published in 1671, before he embarked in his second voyage, a project or list of the books he proposed to publish in the Ethiopic language, with an account in Italian of the present state of Egypt. And after his return, he gave the world a journal of his voyage to Egypt in 1672 and 1673, and after that an history of the church of Alexandria.

Whoever reads these works will be surprised to find him spoken of by Mr Ludolf with such an air of contempt; though Mr Ludolf was his master in the Ethiopic language, there were many things in which he might have been his scholar. After all, Mr Ludolf is not to be refused the praises he deserves, for having applied himself with so much diligence and labour to the study of a language, which, before his time, had been very little known in Europe.

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# DISSERTATION II.

UPON

## ETHIOPIA OR ABYSSINIA.

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**T**HE ancients have called all those countries that extend themselves beyond Egypt, on each side of the Red sea, indifferently India or Ethiopia. Strabo tells us, that the country on the south coast was named Ethiopia; which appellation, though these regions have since taken several names, they have long preserved. In scripture, all the black nations are called Chus, which word, not only by the author of the vulgar, but likewise by all the interpreters, as well Greek as Latin, is universally rendered Ethiopia, or Ethiopian. We read in the 12th chapter of Numbers, that Aaron and Miriam were extremely enraged at Moses for having married an Ethiopian woman. Now Sephora, the wife of Moses, and Raguel her brother, were Midianites; which puts it beyond all controversy, that the country now called Arabia, was heretofore called the eastern Ethiopia, to distinguish it from the Ethiopia of Afric. The eastern people, on the contrary, called those kingdoms India, which we call Ethiopia, or Abyssinia. Both their historians, and the Greek and Latin writers say, that St Frumentius, who travelled into Ethiopia, was sent by St Athanasius to India; and that the  
Indians

Indians had desired bishops from Simon the Syrian, patriarch of Alexandria. And the Persians to this day call an Ethiopian Siah, Hindou, or Hindi. It is difficult to assign the exact limits of the Asiatic Ethiopia on the east side, we are only certain that it was separated from that of Africa, by the Red sea. Thus Theodoret having asked who the people of Saba were, the answer is, they are a nation of Ethiopia. "It is said, that this nation inhabits the coast of the Indian sea; they are called Homerites, and are opposite to the Axumites, with nothing but the sea between them. That admirable woman was their queen whose zeal hath been praised by our Saviour Jesus Christ. Philostorgus places the Sabæans among the nations of India. The Sabæans, a people of India, so named from Saba the capital of their country, are the same with the Homerites." L. 3. C. 4.

These Sabæans or Homerites were a powerful nation, and possessed a country of wide extent, between the Persian and Arabian gulf; and so numerous were their people, that it is pretended the Abyssins are a colony from them. In this almost all authors agree. Uranius in Stephanus, Byzantinus, Ptolemy, and Arrian, even place the Abyssins in Arabia. It is yet highly probable, that this excursion was made long before these historians and geographers, and perhaps before the Sabæans or Homerites were known, or distinguished by those names. Eusebius declares, that the Abyssins removed out of Asia into Afric in the time that the Jews were in Egypt, that is about the 2345th year from the creation of the world. Syncellus places this migration somewhat later, about the age of the judges.

Diodorus of Sicily, however, maintains, that the Ethiopians never knew any other country, than that which they inhabit; and that they never had been corrupted by foreign

foreign customs ; but the Abyssins are so different from the neighbouring nations, that no man will suppose they have the same original. The Abyssins are well shaped, their features are commonly sufficiently regular, their eyes large and lively, their colour rather olive than black, and their hair long, which they have a thousand ways of dressing. The women of distinction are there tolerably white. The other Ethiopians have noses big and wide, thick lips, and hair curled like wool.

Auledin Aboulfadhi, surnamed Assiouthi, hath written two books on those people, which the Arabs comprehend under the general name of Soudans, or blacks ; one of these books is one continued encomium on the Ethiopians, whom he stiles flowers that grow round the thrones of the Sultans, because those princes generally employed them near their persons, and in offices of the greatest trust. Whatever is the reason, there hath always been a great intercourse between the Abyssins and Sabæans, or Homerites. The passage from one kingdom to the other is neither long nor difficult, and perhaps they have been formerly under the same master, and the queen of the South may have ruled over all these countries. Theodoret, Procopius of Gaza, and Procopius of Cæsarea, call them equally Ethiopians; distinguishing those of Asia by the addition of Homerites, and those of Africa by that of Axumites, from Axum, or Axuma, the capital in former times, of Abyssinia.

The Ethiopia of Africa hath been of much greater extent than that of Asia. Homer tells us, that it reached from one sea to the other, and beheld both the rising and the setting sun. It is now divided into three parts ; the western Ethiopia, containing the kingdoms of Congo, Angola, and Benguela ; the eastern Ethiopia, of which father John des Santos, a Portuguese Dominican, hath  
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given us a large and curious history more than an hundred years since. This division extends from Sofala to Cape Gardafui, and runs far up into the inland parts. The third is upper Ethiopia, of which the reader hath here met with an account, and which I am endeavouring to make more known.

Abyssinia heretofore extended itself from the seventh degree to the 17th; and comprised thirty-six kingdoms and provinces: but its territories are much contracted since the revolt of the Gallees, which began about the year 1537. So that the emperor of Abyssinia now is only master of the kingdoms of Tigre, Dambia, Bagameder, Goiam, Amhara, part of Choaa, and Narea; with the provinces of Mazaga, Salent, Ogara, Abargale, Seguade, Olcalt, Semen, Salaoa, Holecas, and Doba.

The kingdom of Tigre is the most considerable part of Abyssinia. Its length, from Mazua to the desert of Aldoba and mount Semen, is three hundred Italian miles; its breadth, from the province of Bur to the same desert, is near equal. Axum, or Axuma, which the Portuguese, who first visited this country, called by corruption Cachumo, or Chassumo, hath been the capital of this kingdom and of all Abyssinia, and hath in some measure given its name to the whole country. As the Abyssinians were heretofore ignorant of the use of the line, the buildings of this city could not be very extraordinary; yet there may still be seen the remains of a magnificent temple, which have supported themselves against the injuries of time. It is an hundred and ten feet in length, it had two wings on each side, and a double porch, with an ascent of twelve steps; the emperor, when he is crowned here, sits on a throne of stone in the inner porch. Behind this temple are several obelisks of different bigness, some of which have been thrown down by the Turks, others are yet standing.

standing. Among the rubbish is a great square stone, on which appear the remains of an inscription, so effaced by time that it is not legible; and nothing can be distinguished except some Greek and Latin letters, and the word *Basilus*.

Three leagues distant from Axum is Fremona, the first and principal seat of the Jesuits, formerly called Maegoga, from the murmur of a rivulet that runs near it, which the fathers changed to that of Fremona, in honour of St Fremona, or Frumentius, the apostle of the Abyssins. There is reason to believe that this place, already illustrious by the death of the holy-father Andrew Oviedo patriarch of Ethiopia, and other venerable missionaries, would have increased in reputation, had it pleased God to have continued his blessing to the Ethiopian mission.

The patriarch Alphonso Mendez pretends, that there are forty-four governments in the kingdom of Tigre. Mr Ludolf reckons up but twenty-seven, and seven maritime governments; which, being separated from the general viceroyship of the kingdom, have a peculiar deputy assigned them, with the title *Bahr Nagus*, or Intendant of the sea.

The kingdom of Angote is almost entirely laid waste by the Gallas, and only a small part of it is now subject to the emperor. The kingdom of Bagameder lies westward of Angote, and extends to the Nile. It is now only sixty leagues in length, and twenty in breadth. It was formerly much larger; but several provinces are now dismembered from it, as Abargale, Semen, Ogara, Segued, Olcalt, and joined to the kingdom of Tigre. Amhara is situate southwards from Bagameder, from which it is divided by the little river Baixillo, as it is on the east by the Nile from Goiam. It is divided into several little countries, and hath passed for the most valuable of all the  
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the Abyssinian kingdoms. In this kingdom is Guexon, the famous rock, (the happy valley of the translator's Raffles), on which the sons and brothers of the emperor were confined till their accession to the throne. This custom, established about 1260, hath been abolished for two ages.

The kingdoms of Holeca, and Chaoa or Xaoa, are divided on the east from Goiam by the Nile; on the west are Chaoais, Oifate or Ifate, and on the south of these kingdoms are those of Fategar, Ogge, Gaus, and Amut, which is somewhat more remote, and borders upon Narea, the farthest province of Abyssinia to the south-west; which was governed by its own princes, till it was subdued by Sultan Segued, who made the kings hereditary governors; nor have the emperors of Abyssinia any subjects more faithful or obedient. It is said that this country produces abundance of gold. Those natives of Narea who have been converted, are good Christians, but there are still great numbers of idolaters. Ogara is situated more to the north than almost any of these kingdoms, and lies between Olcalt, Segued, Tigre, Bagameder, and Dambia; it is of much greater length than breadth, and hath nothing in it remarkable except the mountain of Lamalmon. In the time of the patriarch Alphonso Mendez, the kings of Abyssinia generally resided in the kingdom of Dambia, which was a strong reason for the Jesuits establishing themselves there. The houses and the churches which they built have been no prejudice to the beauty of the country. Sultan Segued gave to the patriarch, Enfras with its whole territory, who chose to reside for the most part at Depsan, about a league from the lake of Dambia, and equally distant from Dancas, where Sultan Segued generally kept his court.

The kingdom of Goiam, which is made a peninsula  
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by being almost encompassed by the Nile, hath been thought by the Jesuits, for that reason, to be the Meroe of the ancients. Mr Ludolf, on the contrary, maintains, that Goiam cannot be the isle of Meroe ; because nothing related of Meroe by Diodorus of Sicily, Strabo or Pliny, is applicable to that kingdom ; Meroe being much nearer Egypt. The strongest reason he offers is, that if Meroe had been Goiam, and the ancients had known that country, they must have consequently known the source of the Nile. The greatest part of the authorities alledged by him rather shew his learning than prove his opinion. Solinus says, that Meroe is the first island formed by the Nile, and that it is six hundred miles distant from sea. If father Jerome Lobo may be credited, from the sea to the head of the Nile is a journey of twenty days length. From Mazua to the Agaus are an hundred and fifty Portuguese leagues, which are at least six hundred Italian miles. Mela, as corrected by Salmasius, says very near the same with Solinus. Pausanias writes, that the Greeks and Ethiopians, who had been beyond Syene and Meroe, reported, that the Nile entered a great lake, and after it had passed through it traversed the whole country of Ethiopia : all this is very agreeable to the kingdom of Goiam. Vossius, who is of opinion that Goiam is not Meroe, affirms, that the river now called Mareb is the Astaboras of the ancients ; and that the capital of Meroe is a city, Baroo or Baroa, situated in the sixteenth degree, 22 minutes, where the Bahrnagash generally resides: the neighbourhood of Syris or Syene confirms this opinion ; for the way from Egypt to Meroe lay through Syene, which was somewhat above two hundred French leagues distant from it. But Vossius is mistaken in affirming that the Mareb falls into the Tacaza ; for the Mareb loses itself in the sands. And

I am more inclined to believe that the Astusapes, mentioned by Pliny, book 5th, is the Mareb. If the Astaborus be, as Pliny says, on the left of the Nile, it is probably the Melecca; and then the notion of the learned father Harduin, who places Meroe between the Nile and the Melecca, will have a greater appearance of truth than that of Vossius. But, after all, the ancients were so little acquainted with this part of Ethiopia, and the accounts they have left us of the isle of Meroe are so different and confused, that there is as much reason for affirming as for denying that it was Goiama.

Mr Ludolf, I know not for what reason, has left out the nation of the Agaus in his account, who are mentioned by other writers, and of whom father Jerome Lobo hath said so much. This people inhabits about the fountains of the Nile, and is not to be confounded with another nation, of almost the same name, that dwells in the mountains of Lasta, and revolting from Sultan Segued engaged him in a bloody war.

A man is not to expect in Ethiopia either valuable pictures, or beautiful statues, or busts of admirable workmanship, or grand buildings. There is not a city in the empire. Their houses are nothing but cabins built of clay and straw. All the polite arts are utterly unknown here, and nothing is to be met with but nature savage and uncultivated.

Here are mountains of so stupendous an height, that the Alps and Pyreneans, which seem to us to rise into the sky, are hillocks if compared with Guza, which yet is but the basis of Lamalmon. These two mountains are in the confines of Tigre and Dambia, and are to be passed over by those who travel from one kingdom into the other.

When the traveller has surmounted the fatigue of climbing mount Guza, he finds an agreeable plain, where

he reposes himself before he attempts Lamalmon. From these mountains, he enjoys a free prospect of the whole kingdom of Tigre, where Semen, and the other mountains which cross and divide it into so many places, appear little more than molehills.

The kingdom of Amhara is yet more mountainous, the Abyssins call those steep rocks Amba. There are many of them which appear to the sight like great cities; and one is scarcely convinced, even upon a near view, that one doth not see walls, towers, and bastions. It was on the barren summit of Ambaguexa, that the princes of the blood-royal passed their melancholy life, being guarded by officers who treated them often with great rigour and severity.

The father Balthazar Tellez tells a story which deserves not to be forgotten on this occasion. One of these guards, an exact and severe man, observing one of the princes to be better dressed than the rest; and to take care of his cloaths, not only informed the emperor, but tore the suit, and threatened the prince to procure him one he should be less pleased with. Some time after that prince mounted the throne, and sending for the officer, presented him with a magnificent habit, and bade him return to his charge, with these memorable words: "As you have served my father, I hope you will serve me. You have hitherto done your duty, I approve of you; continue to do it." Such examples are illustrious and rare, and Ethiopia may boast of more officers thus severe, than princes thus generous. The highest of all these mountains, according to the patriarch Alphonso Mendez, is Thabat-Mariam, which is vastly large, and rises far above the clouds; its foot is watered by two rivers. Here are seven churches, of which that of the invocation of St John is extremely wealthy. It was formerly

merly the burying-place of the kings of Abyssinia ; and there are still to be seen five tombs hung with tapestry, wrought with the arms of Portugal, which are supposed to be those hangings which king Emanuel presented to the emperor David.

Among so many craggy mountains, the air cannot be always alike ; and perhaps there is no country in the world in which so many different seasons may be found in so small a compass. Along the coasts of the Red sea, and twelve leagues within the country, the winter begins in December and ends in February, and the rains in that time are not much. Higher in the country, July, August, and September, are the three winter months.

The heats are not excessive in Abyssinia, notwithstanding its situation between the line and the tropic ; and if the land doth not produce great abundance of every necessary of life, it is to be attributed not to the sterility of the soil, but to the laziness of the natives.

The rivers bring down, with their streams, some grains of gold, which gives room to suspect that the mountains are full of it ; and that there is no want in this country of either metals or other minerals : but whether reasons of state, as some imagine, or carelessness be the cause, they have never yet discovered any mines. The little gold to be seen in Abyssinia is brought from the province of Narea, or received in their small traffic with the other Ethiopians who have great plenty of that metal. The most valuable mineral in Abyssinia is salt.

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# DISSERTATION III.

ON THE

N I L E.

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**T**HE greatest men of antiquity have passionately wished to find the head of the Nile, and have thought, after all their conquests, that their glory was not complete without this discovery. Cambyſes loſt in this ſearch much time and great numbers of men. When Alexander conſulted the oracle of Ammon, the firſt enquiry he made was after the ſources of the Nile ; and having afterwards encamped at the head of the river Indus, which he imagined to be that of the Nile, was overjoyed at his ſucceſs. Ptolomy Philadelphus, one of his ſucceſſors, carried his arms with this view into Ethiopia, where he took the city of Axuma, as appears by the inſcriptions preſerved down to us by Coſmas Indopluſtes, which he copied upon the ſpot, in the time of the emperor Juſtin the firſt.

Lucan puts it into the mouth of Cæſar, that his higheſt ambition is to diſcover the head of Nilus, and the cauſes that act upon it, which have been a ſecret to ſo many generations ; and that, could he be aſſured of enjoying the ſight of its fountains, he would bid adieu to the civil war.

—Nihil

*———— Nihil est quod noscere malim  
Quam fluvii causas per secula tanta latentis,  
Ignotumque caput ; spes sit mihi certa videndi  
Niliacos fontes, bellum civile relinquam.*

Nero had the same desire upon other motives, and sent out whole armies to make the discovery. The report brought back to him took away all hopes of success.

The ancients, having thus to no purpose sought after the head of this river, and the causes of its inundations, have had recourse to fable, and have endeavoured to conceal their ignorance by inventing mysteries. The interpreters of the Holy Scriptures have not been themselves free from this error ; who, knowing no other Ethiopia than that of Africa, have imagined that Gihon, mentioned in Genesis, is the Nile ; and not daring to contradict the scripture, which says that the Gihon, rising in the terrestrial paradise, waters the land of Chus or Ethiopia, have conducted it under lands and seas, and made it appear again in Ethiopia.

Great numbers of learned men have laboured to clear these fables, and have invented many different hypotheses for this purpose. Mr Huet, bishop of Avranches, maintains, in his treatise on the terrestrial paradise, that the Gihon is an eastern branch of the Euphrates, which, taking its rise from the country of Eden, passes along that of Chus, called even at this day Chus-ostam. He adds, that Homer makes it descend from Jupiter, and that this is the reason that Plautus says of a river which he doth not name, that its fountain is in heaven, and springs up under the throne of Jupiter.

There is no reason to wonder that the poets have honoured the Nile with a divine original. The Egyptians, who are indebted to its inundations for the fertility of

their soil, after having made the river a divinity, thought themselves, as well as the Gymnosophists and Ethiopians, obliged to stand in defence of their ancient errors, how absurd soever ; and therefore built temples, raised altars, and appointed festivals to his honour, and paid their adorations to him under the name of Osiris.

The Jews and Mahometans, however averse from idolatry, have yet attributed a peculiar blessedness and sanctity to its waters ; and we find in the foregoing relation, that the Agaus, who inhabit the country round about its sources, though instructed in the Christian religion, continue still to offer sacrifices to the river. In this manner does obstinacy and folly support those superstitions and idolatries which ignorance introduced.

The Nile hath passed under various names in different ages, and in different countries through which it runs, not being called Nilus, says Pliny, B. 5. C. 9. till it collects its disunited streams into one channel, and even then, for some miles, keeping the name of Siris. It is called in general by Homer Egyptus, and by others Triton. Pliny doth not tell us whether the Nile first gave the name to Egypt, or received, like many other rivers, its name from the country it waters. Hesychius affirms, that the Nile, being originally called Égyptus, communicated its name to that kingdom. Egyptus, however, was not the first name it was known by, for it was first called Oceanus, then Aetus or Aquila, afterwards Egyptus, and since, from its having borne those three names, Triton. At length it came to be known, both to the Greeks and Romans, by no other appellation than that of Nilus. The fathers Payz and Lobo inform us, that the Abyssinians call this river Abavi, or the father of waters ; and according to Pliny, it takes the name of Siris in passing through Syene. The Egyptians, who ascribed the wonderful fruitfulness



fulness of their country to its waters, called it by the venerable names of the Preserver, the God, the Sun, sometimes the Father.

Mr Ludolf maintains, that Abavi does not signify father in the Abyssinian language ; observing, at the same time, that it would be a very improper name, because the Nile receives part of its waters from other rivers that discharge themselves into it, as the Tacaza and the Mareb, but no river takes its rise from the Nile. He says farther, that in that dialect which the men of learning make use of, it is named Gejon, and thinks it might be so called from the Gihon which Moses speaks of in his description of paradise. Vatable, in his exposition of the word Cusch or Ethiopia, says it is to be understood of eastern Ethiopia. The Nile or Gejon does not encompass all Ethiopia, but only one part of it, the kingdom of Goiana.

Cosmas the hermit, whom we have quoted, is the first that hath informed us of the true way to the head of the Nile ; who having been in Ethiopia, hath made appear by the account which he hath given, that he was acquainted with the country. Yet father Peter Payz, a Portuguese Jesuit, was the first European who had a sight of the two springs which gave rise to this celebrated stream, and therefore I imagine most will be pleased to meet with his account of it, as preserved to us by father Kercher, another famous Jesuit.

On the 21st of April, in the year 1613, I accompanied, say he, the emperor, who was then at the head of his army in the kingdom of Goiana ; he was encamped in the province of Sacala, in the country of the Agaus, near a little mountain that did not seem of any considerable height, because it was surrounded by others much higher. As I was looking round about me with great attention, I discovered two round springs, one of which might be about

two

two feet diameter; the sight filled me with a pleasure which I know not how to express, when I considered that it was what Cyrus, Cambyfes, Alexander, and Julius Cæsar, had so ardently and so much in vain desired to behold. I did not perceive any other spring towards the top of the mountain. The second spring breaks out about a stone's cast westward from the first. The natives affirm that the whole mountain is full of water, and I am inclined to the same opinion, for the ground shakes, and the water boils up under foot round about these springs. The water, having a steep fall, runs with great rapidity to the foot of the mountain, so that the fountains never flood the ground. The inhabitants told me, that the year having been extremely dry the mountain was observed to quake, and that sometimes the trembling was so violent that it was dangerous to walk upon it, which was confirmed by the emperor. Below the top of the mountain, a league from the spring, is the village of Guix, which appears to the sight but a short cannon shot distant. The mountain is of a difficult ascent, except on the north side.

A league from the mountain springs another rivulet, which soon loses itself in the Nile. It is imagined to rise from the same fountain, and to run under ground for some space; it runs eastward, and afterwards turning to the north, receives another brook, which, rising among the rocks, is enlarged by two others that spring towards the east; and the Nile, being augmented by all these petty streams, soon swells into a considerable river; and after continuing its course a day's journey, receives a large increase from the Gemma, a river no less than itself; it soon after declines to the west, but turning again eastward, it enters a lake which it crosses with great impetuosity, preserving its water unmixed. Having passed through that lake, it wanders through a long maze of windings

windings to the south, and waters the plains of Alaba. About five leagues from the lake it falls fourteen feet down a precipice, with so much violence, that at a distance all the water seems to be turned into mist and foam ; a little after, it is so confined among the rocks that it can scarcely be perceived, for they approach so near to each other, that, with the help of a few beams and planks, the king and his whole army passed over it.

This river, after having left the kingdom of Bagameder on the east, runs through Amhara, Olaca, Schava, and Damota, with the countries of Bizamo and Gumancana, and almost surrounds Goiama, returning within a day's journey of its original source, and afterwards traversing the kingdoms of Fazalo and Ombarca, which Razzela Christos conquered in 1613, naming them Ayfolam or Hadisalem, that is the New World, in allusion to their vast extent, and to their being so little known before to the Abyssins. The Nile, afterwards bidding farewell to Abyssinia, after having passed through several kingdoms, falls at length into Egypt, and discharges itself into the Mediterranean.

Father Payz having nothing more concerning the course of the Nile, and scarce saying any thing of it after it hath left Abyssinia, I choose to present the reader with the account which Mr Ludolf received from Gregory the Abyssin, taking notice only of that part of the letter which relates to its passage after it is out of the Abyssinian dominions.

After it has run between Bizamo and Goiam, it enters the country of the Shankelas, then turning to the right, leaves on the left the west part of the land, and passes through Sanaar, having already received the Taczaza which rises in the kingdom of Tigre, and the Gangua which comes from Dambia. From Sanaar it enters  
the

the country of Dangola, and flows into Nubia, afterwards turning still more to the right, it comes into the country of Abrim, where all the vessels stop that pass up the stream from Egypt; the rocks, which interrupt so frequently the course of the river, making it impossible to sail any higher.

I cannot comprehend the distinction made here between Sanaar and Nubia, one being only the ancient, the other the modern name. We have already given an account of the Nile from Cairo to Dangola, out of the letter of father Brevedent.

The Nile afterwards, says he, enters Egypt, it bounds on the east the countries of Sanaar and Nubia. Those who come down out of Abyssinia and Sanaar into Egypt, keep always the Nile on the right hand; and when they have travelled through Nubia, cross, upon camels, a desert fifteen days journey over, where nothing but sand is to be found; then arriving at Rif, or Upper-Egypt, they quit their camels, and pass the remaining part of their way upon the water. Some go by land on foot.

The Nile, continues the same Gregory, receives as it runs all other rivers both great and small, except the Hanazo, which rises in the kingdom of Angolé, and Aoaxe, or Hawash, which runs through the kingdoms of Dawara and Falegar.

It is not unlikely that the Hanazo, mentioned by Gregory, is the same river that runs by mount Senaf, where the patriarch Alphonso Mendez and his companions had their first pleasing interview with father Emanuel Baradas.

The patriarch has described this river as one of the most agreeable that the world can boast of, where the traveller is delighted with trees and aromatic herbs that flourish along its banks.

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The account which the patriarch gives of the other rivers, being at least as curious as any thing that Gregory tells us of the Nile, seems to deserve to be set down in a compendious manner.

The Nile receives several rivers, the most remarkable of which are the Baxilo or Bachilo, which divides the kingdoms of Bagameder and Amhara; the Gulcem, which bounds the same kingdom of Amhara and Oleca; the Maleck and Auguer, which, having joined their streams, water the countries of Damot, Narca, Bizamo, the Gafates, and the Gongas. The Tacaza, called by the ancients Astaboras, hath three different sources near the mountains, which separate the two kingdoms of Angote and Bagameder; it runs towards the west through the desert of Oldeba, then entering Dambar, falls into a large bed of sands; and afterwards, having crossed part of the kingdom of Decan, discharges itself into the Nile. It is said, that besides crocodiles and river-horses, there are in this river abundance of torpedos, which immediately benumb the arm of any man that touches them. The Mareb, rising two leagues from Debaroa, falls, after a long course, from a rock thirty cubits in height, and sinks under ground; but in the winter it runs through many other provinces, and by the monastery of Alleluja, and then loses itself. The army, when they invaded these regions, dug into the sand, and found under ground both good water and excellent fish.

The Aoaxes is not less than the Nile at its beginning, and is increased by the Machy and the lake Zoay; but the natives, whose country it waters, cut the main stream into so many channels, that it is by degrees entirely lost, yet is supposed to be conveyed by subterraneous passages into the Indian sea.

The

The river Zebea, though less known, is equally considerable with the Nile itself. It rises in Boxa, a province of the kingdom of Narea, and first falling eastward, turns afterwards to the north, and encompasses almost the whole country of Gingiro; afterwards, turning to the east through many barbarous and unknown regions, discharges itself into the Indian sea near Mombaza.

There is no great difficulty, since we are informed of the head of the Nile, and the rivers that fall into it, in giving an explication of those wonders which have perplexed both the ancients and moderns, who consulted themselves instead of the country, and were bewildered in their own reasonings and imaginations.

The circumstance which they were most in pain about, was the increase and overflow of this river, the causes of which they were in hopes of finding by contriving imaginary systems, which are now of no other use than to mortify the aspiring pride of man, to show how contracted is his boasted knowledge, and how vainly he reasons upon subjects which his senses have not made him acquainted with.

Diodorus Siculus, having given a description of the Nile in the third chapter of his *Bibliotheca*, comes in the fourth to treat of its increase; and collects all the opinions he had heard of those that went before him, beginning with that of Thales Milesius, one of the seven sages, who tells us that the violence of the north winds, which the Greeks call Etesians, opposing the passage of the waters, forced them over their banks. But, says Diodorus, if this solution were true, all the rivers that run from south to north would overflow in the same manner. Anaxagoras, and Euripides his disciple, imagine that the inundation is owing to the melting of the snow; but, as he observes, there are no snows  
upon

upon the mountains of Ethiopia. Besides, if the Nile were increased by the melting of snow, the air would be colder, and the river would be hid in mists; when, on the contrary, it is peculiar to the Nile, that it is not at any time covered with mists or fogs. Democritus appears to have approached nearest the truth, though Diodorus confutes him like the rest; for he says, that the north winds, which blow sometime before the overflow, bring snow with them out of colder countries, which, being dissolved into rain, falls in such quantities about that time as swell the river beyond its channel.

It has been the opinion of many, that there is a subterraneous communication between the Nile and the sea, and that the inundation happens when the sea, being violently agitated, forces the waters into the channel of the Nile. Other accounts, even more improbable, have been invented; and very few have satisfied themselves with the true and natural solution of this problem given of old by Strabo, St Athanasius, and Cosmas Indoplustes who has written of Ethiopia with more accuracy than any other, and since by the Portuguese Jesuits, whose relations, so well attested, leave us no room to doubt of the real cause, the great rains which fall at that time in Ethiopia.

There is much talk of the goodness of the water of the Nile; and it is said, that though it is never perfectly clear, it is yet extremely light and wholesome. Galen tells us, that women with child who drink of it have easy labours, and bring often two, three, and even four children; that the sheep and goats, which feed upon the banks, breed greater numbers than in any other place. Every one knows that the fertility of Egypt depends upon the overflows of the Nile, and that the year is bad when it rises less than fourteen cubits, or more than eighteen,

eighteen, and that it is good when the water stands at sixteen.

There remains another doubt to be discussed, whether it be in the power of the Abyssinian emperor to turn the stream of the Nile, so as to prevent it from watering Egypt. Some pretend, upon the authority of Elnacin, that it is not only possible, but that it has in some degree been put in execution. That the Calif Mustansir sent Michael, the patriarch of Alexandria, into Abyssinia, who, being received with the highest honours by the emperor, informed him that the intent of his journey was to remonstrate, that the Nile was sunk so low in Egypt that the country and inhabitants suffered extremely; and the emperor, in respect to the patriarch, ordered a mound to be broke, upon which the water increased three cubits in one night; the channel was soon filled, and the whole country laid under water, and fitted to receive the seed. The patriarch, at his return into Egypt, was received with great tokens of respect by the sultan, who presented him with a long robe.

This account of Elmacin they endeavour to support by a relation of the vast and stupendous project of Alphonso d'Albuquerque, who had conceived the same design of turning the Nile into a new channel, which, if we credit his son, he was upon the point of executing, when king Emanuel, at the instigation of his enemies, recalled him. To effect this, says he, nothing more was required than to dig through a little mountain that lies along the Nile in the country of Prester-John. He had often written to his prince to send him some pioneers from the Maderas where they are accustomed to level mountains, that they may water their sugar canes. He adds, that this might be done, because Prester-John earnestly desired it, but did not know what measures to take.



take. That if it had been effected, which he makes no doubt of if his father had lived a little longer, both the Upper and Lower Egypt had been laid in ruin. If the Arabs, continues he, who inhabit the deserts between Canaum and Cazuer, have been able, upon any difference that arose between them and the sultans of Egypt, to interrupt the course of the Nile, much more easily might Alphonso have done it, assisted by the power of Prester John.

In this manner the son of Alphonso d'Albuquerque relates his father's design; but his account is not altogether satisfactory. The country of Gazua may without difficulty be cut through; and, what much facilitated the enterprize of the Arabs, there is already a channel through which the Nile discharges part of its waters into the Red-Sea. Abyssinia is so far from affording any such advantages, that it is, above any country in the world, filled with mountains to which the Alps and Pireneans are mere hillocks. The Nile never approaches within less than an hundred leagues of the sea in any part of Abyssinia. There are several rivers between them, as the Tacaza, which receives many others, and doth not join itself to the Nile but in the 20th degree, which is four degrees beyond the most northern part of Abyssinia. The place where the Nile makes its nearest approaches to the sea, is in the 22d degree, on this side Dancala; and even there, all along the coasts, extends a long chain of mountains, which ends at Rif. There is therefore no probability that the emperor of Abyssinia can divert the course of the Nile.

Mr Ludolf nevertheless, though the impossibility of cutting a passage for the Nile into the Red-Sea through so many interposing mountains appears from his own

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map, espouses the part of Alphonso's son against Father Tellez, who has demonstrated the vanity of such an undertaking, and speaks of it like a man who considered that the enthusiasm of heroic spirits hurries them sometimes beyond the limits of prudence, and engages them in enterprizes not warrantable by right reason.

As to the relation of Elmacin, to which Mr Ludolf seems to give credit, he would, I believe, have found it no easy matter to have informed us, what became, during the time in which the Egyptians complained of famine, of the waters of the Nile; by what channel they passed into the Red-Sea; and by what means, and in what place, the king of Ethiopia dug this channel.

Had Mr Ludolf been sufficiently acquainted with the history of the patriarchs of Alexandria, he would have found this favourite narrative loaded with more difficulties, and liable to new objections. He would have discovered, that an author almost contemporary, in his life of the patriarch Michael, says not a word of this journey; that Mustansir died within a year after the ordination of Michael; and that, during that time, there was no famine in Egypt. So that the history related by Elmacin, and by Mucrisius after him, is plainly invented only to amuse.

It is observable that the kings of Abyssinia are still persuaded that the keys of the Nile are in their hands, and that they can, when they please, change its course, as the king Teklimanout threatens the Bassa of Cairo, in a letter already given in the sequel of the history: But however they may threaten, it is now impossible, and was no less impossible in the days of Albuquerque.

We do not pretend that a canal cannot be dug from the Nile to the Red-Sea, but that the Abyssins cannot  
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do it. It was attempted heretofore by Necus the son of Psammeticus, and atchieved by Darius king of Persia, who made a channel, if Herodotus be credited, four days sail in length, and of the breadth of two galleys. Afterwards Ptolemy Philadelphus caused another to be dug, an hundred feet in breadth, and forty in depth, which he carried on as far as the Bitter Fountains, about 37 miles; then discovering that the Red-Sea was three cubits higher than the land, he broke off his design for fear of laying Egypt under water. Yet the author of the cosmography written in the consulship of Cæsar and Anthony affirms, that in his time part of the Nile ran into the Red-Sea near Ovil.

Long after, Omar II. who kept his ordinary residence at Medina, gave orders, in a time of famine, to Amru who conquered Egypt, to cause a canal to be dug from Cairo to Coltzum; which project was put in execution. But Medina ceasing afterwards to be the residence of the califs, and being reduced to a small number of inhabitants, the consumption of provisions grew much less, and the canal, becoming less necessary, was neglected, and by degrees choaked with sand. The Arabs call that canal Khalige Emir Al Moumenin, or The Canal of the Caliph.

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A  
D I S S E R T A T I O N  
ON THE  
EASTERN SIDE OF AFRICA,  
FROM  
MELINDA TO THE STRAIT OF BABELMANDEL.

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**T**HE country into which father Jerome Lobo went in quest of a passage into Ethiopia, is so little known to us, that I cannot think it impertinent to enlarge a little upon what he hath told us.

The viceroys of the Indies have had formerly governments of very large extent subordinate to them, in which deputies were placed under the title of Captain-Generals. He that commanded in the Isle of Ceylon styled himself king of Malvana. The other governments were Malaca, Ormus, and Mozambique, which is the only one which the Portuguese have now left them; having lost Malaca, Ceylon, and the Spice Islands, to the Dutch, and Ormus being retaken by the Persians, assisted by the English.

The Isle of Mozambique, with which I shall begin first, lies in 15 degrees south. It is half a league in length, and a quarter in breadth: the citadel which defends the port, being placed at the mouth of it, is one of the best in the Indies, having four large towers,

two on the land and two on the sea-side, and being furnished with large magazines of ammunition, provision, and every thing needful for a long and vigorous defence, if an enemy should attack it. Besides the unwholesomeness of the air, the inhabitants, which, to the number of about 2000, possess this uncomfortable place, undergo great inconveniencies for want of wood and water, the latter of which they are forced to fetch at three leagues distance. The governor hath all the trade in his own hands, which consists of elephants and sea-horses teeth, and gold brought by his agents from the river of Sofala. This island, wretched as it is, supplies all the coast with provision, cloth, and other merchandizes brought thither from the Indies.

The coast of Melinda begins at the Cape del Gado, which is six degrees south, and runs upwards towards the cape of Guardafui. The city of Melinda, the capital of that country, hath been accounted one of the most beautiful in all that quarter of Africa, which our geographers call Zaquebar. It is situated in a spacious and agreeable plain, the houses being well built of hewn stone. When the king of Melinda goes out, he is carried upon the shoulders of the principal persons of his court, and the streets through which he passes are perfumed; and when he enters into any city of his dominions, the most beautiful of the young virgins go out to meet him, some throwing flowers before him, some burning perfume, and others singing verses to his praise; nor do the priests on this occasion forget to sacrifice.

The Portuguese lost in 1631 the Isle of Mombazo, where they had built 17 churches, and the governor of Melinda had fixed his residence. The king of this place surprised the fortress, and turned Mahometan in

order to procure the assistance of the Moors. Beyond the city of Melinda is the Isle of Lamo, which breeds great numbers of asses of a larger size than usual, but of less use. Near Lamo is the Isle of Pate, large and fruitful, which is governed by three kings of Pate, Sio, and Ampasa, who reside each in a city which gives the name to their territory. Ampasa was far the richest of the three.

It was formerly inhabited only by Moors; who were so haughty, so cruel, and such implacable enemies of the Christians, and particularly the Portuguese, that they were obliged to declare war against them. The king of Ampasa being killed in a battle, this city was taken, plundered, and burnt, and the palm-trees which grew round it were cut down. His head, fixed upon a lance, was carried through all the streets of Goa. The fate of the king of Lamo was even more deplorable, who being accused of having delivered Roc de Brito with about 40 Portuguese to the Turks, was arrested by the captain-general, whom he visited; and being carried by him to Pate, had his head cut off publicly on a scaffold, in the presence of the kings of Pate, Sio, and Ampasa, who were obliged to be present at the melancholy spectacle.

Father Jerome Lobo tells us, that after he left Pate, he travelled along the coast, part by sea and part by land, and hath given an account of what he observed; but as he followed the course of the shore, without daring to go far from the sea-side, he could not tell us any thing of those nations which inhabit the country a little higher. The most considerable of these are the Mossegueios, who are not much less rude and uncivilized for being the allies of the Portuguese. The young people among them have a custom sufficiently  
barbarous

barbarous and uncommon. At the age of seven or eight years, they fix upon their heads a lump of clay in form of a cap; and as the clay dries, and they grow bigger, more is added, till at last this kind of cap weighs eight or ten pounds: this they are not suffered to be without night or day; neither are they admitted to any consultation till they have slain an enemy in battle, and brought his head to their commander.

These Moslegueios were formerly vassals and peasants who revolted from their lords. They live chiefly on the milk of cows. This people having defeated and killed a king of Mombazo, made his kingdom tributary to the king of Melinda.

On this coast, towards the north of Brava, is Magadoxa. After having doubled the Cape of Guardafui, the traveller meets with the ports of Methe, Micha, and Barbora, and then arrives at the kingdom of Adel, the capital of which is called Anca. This kingdom is called Zeila by the Portuguese, from a port of the same name. As Father Jerome Lobo only passed along the coasts of Sofala, Mozambique, and Melinda, he hath omitted many particulars relating to the natural history of these countries which may afford some entertainment to the reader, and therefore deserve to be inserted.

This country supplies the merchants with great quantities of gold, ivory, the teeth of sea-horses, and cocoas; and other things of great usefulness and curiosity are found here: nor is it easy to determine whether the sea or land be most fruitful in these extraordinary productions.

There are more sugar-canes on the banks of the Cuama and Sofala than in Brasil; but the Cafres have no art of bruising them, eat them as they are naturally

produced, and make no advantage from them in traffic. Cassia is very common, and not much esteemed by the Cafres, who have other purgatives of greater virtues, and prepared with less trouble. There is one wood which, powdered and taken in a glass of water, stops a flux of blood, and another which cures all kinds of sores. Its qualities are such, that it clears the wound in 24 hours of all foulness or clotted blood, and cures it in a very short time without the application of any other remedy. There is another wood in this country, which, powdered and taken by men, brings milk into their breasts, and enables them to give suck like women.

They have likewise an herb called by the Portuguese Dutro, by the Cafres Banguini; which has this wonderful quality, that, taken in meat or drink, it entirely deprives a man of reason, and continues him for the space of 24 hours in the same temper which he was in when he took it. He that swallowed it in a gay humour is entertained with pleasing images, and is continually bursting out into fits of laughter and flights of merriment. But he whom his ill fate tempts to taste it in a melancholy disposition, protracts the gloomy moments, and gives the woes of life a longer duration; nothing can he utter but sighs and complaints, or apprehend but misery and misfortune, till the force of the drug is exhausted, and he awakes from his dream of sadness. No one retains any remembrance of any thing said or done by him while he continued thus intoxicated.

Those who are so daring as to bathe in those rivers that are infested by crocodiles, fortify their bodies by rubbing with an herb named *miciriri*: this, as they imagine, puts these destructive animals to flight; and the



the notion among them is, that if the crocodile should attempt to bite them, his teeth, at the touch of their bodies thus secured, would become soft as wax.

Four leagues from the Cape del Gada is the least of the Isles of Quirimba. In this island grows the tree from which manna is gathered, which is nothing but a kind of dew congealed, which appears on the trunk like candied sugar, and on the leaves like pearls.

The author hath said so much already of the usefulness of the palm, that I shall not enlarge upon what has been written by him, but shall content myself with saying something of the cocoa of the Maldives, and the tree which produces it. It is not improbable that the Maldivian islands and Ceylon have formerly been one continued tract of ground, the sea being at this day very shallow between them; in which are to be seen palm-trees procreated from those that grew there before the deluge, and which are likely to continue there for ever. These trees, which are now to be seen in the bottom of the sea, bear the same fruits which they bore formerly; for the salt-water, far from being noxious to this plant, contributes to its fertility, which is the reason that those trees which grow near the shore produce a larger number of fruits, though less excellent, than those which are planted at more distance from it. When the cocoa is ripe, it separates from the tree, and is carried by the waves to each shore, where the inhabitants heap them up, and sell them, as an excellent antidote, at a large price.

These seas produce amber, pearls, and coral. Amber grows at the bottom of the sea, and scarce ever is found but in tempestuous weather, when the violent agitation of the waves breaks it off, and drives it upon the shore, where the Cafres, who come down after every

every storm in expectation of finding it, gather it carefully. There are three sorts of amber, the black, the brown, and the white, which is called *ambergrise*. How this substance is formed, hath been long disputed; some maintaining that it is a gum which, distilling from the tree, is hardened in the water: but to make this hypothesis bear any similitude of truth, we ought to find trees of nearly the same species in all those countries where amber is gathered, and Nature should have raised the same productions on the coasts of the Baltic as of the Ethiopic Sea; but this does not appear. Whales and other fishes eat amber, but do not produce it, though it is believed that black amber, which is of little value, may be the excrement of whales that, having eaten pure amber, void it blackened and corrupted. It is reported that a little vessel, bound from Mozambique to the Isle of St Laurence, anchoring all night at 20 fathoms, drew up with her anchor next morning a large piece of amber, and that other ships have had the same unexpected success. Father Dos Santos tells us, that in 1596 they found near Bravo a piece of amber so high that a man could not look over it. It is scarce credible that pieces of such weight and bulk should be voided by any animal in the world, or should be any wax or gum hardened in the water. Every rational man will think it much more probable, that it is formed like other minerals under the water; and that the subterraneous fires, according to the different properties of the earth they act upon, produce this and other fossils.

Coral is a plant that grows in the bottom of the sea, and is so soft when first drawn up, that a juice may be pressed out of it not unlike that which drops from the branch of a fig-tree newly broken off, but of a caustic nature; and

and by an harder pressure the pores through which it issues may be discovered: the coral by being exposed to the air grows hard. The chief fishery for it is near Tabarca in the Mediterranean; some has been found near Toulon, and likewise in the Red-Sea, and in the neighbourhood of Cape del Gado.

Though we have determined that amber is not the excrement of whales, it is not to be imagined that we deny any whales to be in the Ethiopian Sea: there are not only whales, but another kind of fish more rare, with which the whale is always at war, and is often killed by her. This fish is called by the Portuguese *espadarte* from the sword which she has at her snout, which is flat and long, with teeth like a great saw. When the whale and *espadarte* or sword-fish encounter, they appear on the top of the water, and the sword-fish springing upwards, darts his sword strongly against the whale, and often wounds him. The whale is said to attack sometimes the gelves, and other little vessels, which he is supposed to mistake for the sword-fish his enemy, and to overturn them if not prevented.

In this sea are likewise found great numbers of tortoises of various species, who have like the whale a mortal enemy called the *sapi*, which persecutes them perpetually; he lives among the rocks near the shore, and is about a foot long; his neck is covered with a shell three fingers broad; his skin is almost black. When the fishers have taken a *sapi*, they put him into a bucket full of water, and tie a long line to his tail; then throw him into any place where they expect tortoises, and if he can fasten upon any, they draw them out together; for the *sapi* will not quit his hold,

hold, nor doth the tortoise if once seized make any resistance.

Of the river-horse, so much hath been said already that little needs be added to the former description: his teeth are more valuable than elephants, because they are whiter, and preserve their whiteness longer. These creatures are found not only under the line, but even in the polar circle, where they hide themselves under the ice. As to the elephant, scarce a traveller who has seen the eastern parts of the world has forgot to tell us of his sagacity; and therefore any thing here would be unnecessary. Although all the Portuguese writers have reckoned the rhinoceros among the animals of Ethiopia, yet none of them affirm that they have seen him, or been eye-witnesses of the dreadful combats between him and his irreconcilable enemy the elephant.

Some of them confound him with the abada, or bada, of which father John dos Santos hath written very largely. The abada has two horns; one planted on his forehead about two feet long, of a blackish colour, smooth, and very sharp, with the point a little turned upward; the other on the hinder part of his head, thicker and longer; he is about the bigness of a colt of two years old. His bones powdered and mingled with water, make a cataplasm of wonderful efficacy, which draws the poison out of any wound, and entirely cures it.

The zeura is a creature peculiar to Abyssinia; his whole body is diversified with black and white streaks of an equal breadth, which are as soft as silk; he has a kind of wool about his feet; when he runs he puts his head between his legs, and at first kicks out his heels very much. The Emperor of Abyssinia frequently

ly accompanies an embassy with a present of this animal.

The zeura is often confounded with the wild ass, which is less, and hath horns and cloven feet like a deer, with a white streak, which runs down his shoulders and thighs to his knees; his hair is ash-coloured and very rough, his flesh tender and delicious: The Cafres call him *merus*.

It has been a question a long time, whether there be such a creature as the unicorn; those who have given an account of him have varied so much in their descriptions; and filled their narratives with so many fables, that they have reason on their side who have doubted of the existence of this animal, which indeed is very rare, and found only in the kingdom of Damot and in the province of the Agaus. He is wild, but so far from being fierce or dangerous, that he never dares trust himself but in company with other creatures. When he changes his haunt, he runs from one forest to another with so great celerity, that he is immediately snatched out of sight, which has been the occasion of so great a disagreement in the accounts of him, some affirming that he has thick and long hair, others that it is short and thin; that he has a long horn in the midst of his forehead is agreed by all, but it is not so certain that this horn is an excellent antidote: whenever a horn has been found of that efficacy, there is room to doubt whether it was the horn of an unicorn.

There are wild horses in Ethiopia, with an head and mane like ours, and resembling them in their neighing, but with two little horns and cloven feet: The Cafres call them *empopbos*.

The giraffe is the tallest creature in the world; though

though less bulky than the elephant; his legs are so long that a man on horseback may pass without stooping under his belly. He is called by the patriarch Alphonso Mendez *strutbio camelus*, as Mr Ludolf maintains improperly.

If the ninga be not the bird of paradise, it is at least very like it, being about the bigness of a pigeon, yellow and green; his legs are so short that they are never seen. He rests upon trees which he eats the fruit of; and when he would fly away throws himself off, and in falling opens his wings and mounts into the air; if he should light on the ground he could not raise himself; when he drinks he skims over the surface of the water without stopping.

It is said that in Mexico there is a bird called by the natives *cincoes*, which lives upon the dew; his plumage is of several colours, and extremely beautiful, of which the Indians make pictures with so much art and exactness, that they can be but faintly imitated by the most skilful pencil.

The cutvanes has wings of the most beautiful black, and a belly as curiously white, a long neck, and on his head a large tuft of black feathers with a plume rising half a foot above it; his feathers are all even, which he spreads into a kind of umbrella as the peacock expands his tail: he is esteemed so much by the Caffres and Ethiopians, that they style him the *king of birds*.

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## DISSERTATION IV.

O N

### PRESTER-JOHN.

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**I**T hath been a long dispute whether the meaning of the word *Prester-John* be *Priest-John*, or *Precious John*; whether the Emperor of Abyssinia were known by that name before the Portuguese gave it him; whether the true Prester-John were not a king in Cathay or India, and an Asiatic rather than an African monarch.

Writers have taken much pains to assign a remote original to a name of which the French who travelled into the Holy Land were certainly the inventors, as may be made appear. It may not, however, be improper to examine what the Portuguese have said on this subject.

The Infant Don Henry, son of John I. King of Portugal, made the discovery of unknown countries his particular study, and was seconded in his inclination by the Duke of Conimbre his nephew. This prince having read in Marco-Polo of a powerful Christian prince in Asia called *Prester-John*, had a strong desire of attaining some knowledge of him and, contracting a friendship with him, but died before he was able to accomplish his design. King John II. called by the Portuguese *the perfect prince*, had the same inclination to know somewhat of this Prester-John, and sent

sent in 1479 Peter Covilhan and Alphonso Payva, with two Jews skilled in the Arabic language, to travel over the world in search of him. Alphonso Payva died on his journey, and left some memoirs, which his companions found at Cairo, and discovered from them that the Prester-John, whom he had been inquiring after in Asia, was the king of the Abyssins. This news he wrote to the king his master, and passed into Abyssinia, where he was known and confessed by Alvares. Since which time the Portuguese having read those authors, upon whose relations those envoys instructions were formed, have been led into an opinion that they committed the error on purpose to impose upon their master, and that the real Prester-John was a Nestorian prince, who in ecclesiasticals depended on the patriarch of Bagdat or Babylon.

John de Barros, Diego de Conto, the patriarch Alphonso Mendez, the fathers Emanuel d' Almerda, and Balthasar Telles, maintain together with Mr Ludolf, that the envoys were mistaken; and Mr du Cange in his Observations on the Sire de Joinville has these words: " It is an old error which is now rectified, " that the empire of Prester-John is the kingdom of " the Abyssins in Africa; an opinion which may easily " be refuted from the testimony of the Sire de Join- " ville, who makes it evidently appear that the king- " dom of Prester-John was in Asia, and no other than " the Emperor of the Indies; which is confirmed be- " yond contradiction in an epistle of Pope Alexan- " der III. preserved to us by Matthew Paris and " Brompton in the years 1180 and 1181, and another " letter of the prior of the order of preaching friars " in the same Matthew Paris." Mr du Conge cites



moreover the authorities of William of Tripoli and other writers.

The veneration which every man owes to the name of Mr du Cange, to whom learning is so much indebted, obliges us to give his opinion a candid examination, whatever reasons there may be to differ from him.

The authority of the Sire de Joinville ought to carry great weight with it when he relates things which he was an eye-witness of; but we are not to resign up ourselves implicitly to an unthinking belief of what he reports upon the credit of others, especially when we have testimonies more credible than those which he depended on. It is to be considered that he wrote in his old age, a long time after the death of St Louis; and it is evident from the account given by him of the embassy which that king sent to the Khan of Tartary, that those ambassadors are more to be esteemed for their eminent piety than their skill in geography; and that they transmitted to us as true histories several traditions which others would have been inclined to call in question, at least to have examined with more exactness. And, to come more closely to the point, we should willingly be informed where that country lies in the farthest part of Asia, which it will take up a year to travel to from Antioch at the rate of ten leagues a-day, and where that stupendous rock is to be found, which no mortal hath yet been able to pass over, which in the extreme part of the earth, with other rocks, confines the nations of Gog and Magog, who are in the last days to break forth, and come with Antichrist to destroy the rest of the world.

All that the Sire de Joinville has written on that subject relates to the defeat and death of Ung-can; and

the conquests of Chingiscan or Gengizcan, whom he doth not name. In his relation are found two particular circumstances, that the ambassadors found the ways filled with carcases and bones, and that a pretended prophet assured Chingiscan that he should subdue the whole earth. Mr Cange is obliged to quit his confidence in the Sire de Joinville, when he relates the election of Chingiscan by arrows. He adds, that William of Tyre, who lived before the name of the Tartars was known, relates the same circumstance of the Turks or Turcomans, who entering the dominions of the king of Persia, fixed themselves there.

Mr du Cange adds some mistakes of his own to those of his author; for he affirms that this first Prester-John gave that name to the kings of India, and that he made 72 kings tributaries. This learned man confounds here the vanquisher with the vanquished. No man can pretend that Chingiscan, who subdued so many spacious kingdoms, put so many Christian princes to death, and founded the empire of the Moguls, was a Christian; it was he, on the contrary, that, among the rest, conquered this pretended Prester-John, as the Sire du Joinville has written.

We come now to examine the authorities by which Mr du Cange endeavours to support his opinion. The first which he makes use of is de Diceto an English historian, who lived in the reigns of King Richard I. and King John. This writer gives us an extract of a letter written by Pope Alexander III. to the king of India; which same letter is found entire in Roge Hoveden in the year 1177. It cannot be determined from this letter that the prince to whom it is addressed lived in Asia rather than in Afric, or was Nestorian rather than Jacobite; on the contrary, as it appears, that he  
do-

demanded a church at Rome for the people of his country, and the Abyssins had formerly there the church of St Stephen, considering likewise that Abyssinia is called by Marco Polo the Lesser India, and that the ancients have confounded the Indians with the Ethiopians, there is greater probability that this letter was written from Abyssinia than from any other country.

The letter of Geoffry a Dominican monk, given us by Matthew Paris 1237, is more formal, and seems so directly to favour the opinion of Mr du Cange, as to leave us without a reply. That monk gives an account of the care he had of the missions in those parts; he speaks in direct terms of Prester-John, as a prince who then reigned towards Armenia: He mentions afterwards the Jacobites of Egypt, Nubia, and Ethiopia, and says that they have greater numbers of more dangerous errors than those of Asia. It appears by his whole letter, that he had received very exact information; and the author, who has preserved it, lived at the same time.

Marco Polo, whose father had been a long time at the court of Tartary, and returned from thence in the year 1272, and who had himself been raised to high honours in the same court, and employed 17 years in important negotiations, says in positive terms, that Ung-can who was defeated by Chingiscan was the Prester-John. And William of Tripoli, one of the dominicans who travelled into Armenia with the uncle and father of Marco Polo, tells us, as his opinion is reported by Gerard Mercator, that in the year 1098, Coirem Khan was emperor of all the Eastern Asia; that after his death a Nestorian priest made himself master of the province of Nujam, and afterwards of the whole

empire; that he was called *Prester*, or *Priest*, in allusion to his profession, and *John* as it was his name; that after his decease, his brother Vuth, under the name of *Vuth Khan* succeeded him, and was attacked by Chingis, who was a blacksmith.

We shall omit the testimonies of others who cannot add any authority to an opinion already so strongly supported, and among those of elder date, that of Mr d' Herbelot in his *Bibliothèque Orientale*, which was written since this book of Mr du Cange.

We are not to wonder, if upon the credit of these testimonies, Mr du Cange made no scruple to affirm, that the notion of the king of Abyssinia being the Prester-John was an old error which is now cleared up: Yet notwithstanding the great name of so celebrated a writer, with so strong reasons on his side, we are not afraid to say, that this error, if it be one, is not yet so cleared but it may still find those who will stand up in its defence.

It is to be observed, that the testimonies produced are all of them from the Latins, who have corrupted their accounts with abundance of fables; and that Marco Polo wrote almost an hundred years after the death of Ung-can; and I know not for what reason he says of him that he is now generally called *Prester-John, quem hodie Presbyterum Johannem vocant.*

Abulfarage, a celebrated physician, almost contemporary with Chingiscan, and who hath given us a general history of the East, speaks of Ung-can in this manner. In the 1514th year of the epocha of Alexander began the empire of the Moguls in this manner: Ung-can of the tribe of Certit, who was called *King John*, commanded the tribes of the Oriental Turks, who professed the Christian religion; and had near

his person a successful man of another tribe, named *Tamujin*, who had served him with great fidelity in his infancy, and had defeated his enemies in many battles. The reputation of his valour raised him enemies, who made use of all their arts to discredit him with his prince; and never ceased to insinuate something to his disadvantage, till they had made Ung-can suspect him, and brought him to a resolution of seizing him. Two of the king's domestics advertised *Tamujin* that a design was laid to attack him the following night. *Tamujin* gave orders to his people that they should go out of their tents and leave them standing, and himself lay in ambush at a little distance, with what forces he had; and when Ung-can came early in the morning to seize him, and found the tents empty, *Tamujin* rushing out upon him and his followers, defeated, and put them to flight. He some time afterwards, in a second battle slew Ung-can, with a great part of his army, whose wife and children became a prey to the conqueror.

The same *Abulfarage* says, moreover, that while *Chingiscan* was making great rejoicings for the conquest of *Cathay*, he lost his brother *Tuli*, with whose death he was exceedingly afflicted, being passionately fond of him; and that in honour to his memory he decreed that his widow, the *Queen Sarcutna*, the daughter of Ung-can's brother, should command his armies. This princess, he says, was extremely careful in the education of her children and government of her provinces; she was prudent and faithful, and a strict observer of the precepts of Christianity; and she had a great respect for priests, those dedicated to religion, and never saw them without imploring their benediction. He concludes her character with a line of an Arabian

poet : *If the women would resemble her, the men would lose their superiority.*

Abulfarage doth not say that either Ung-can or his brother were priests, or that either of these kings was called *Prester-John*, though Ung-can was named *King John*.

Mr de la Croix Petit confirms, in his *Life of Genghis-can*, the opinion of Abulfarage, as we shall show in his own words : This (says he) was the same Ung-can who made so great a noise in the Christian world, about the latter end of the 11th century, or rather of the 12th, under the name of *Prester-John of Asia*, a title attributed to him by the Nestorians. There are yet to be seen circulatory letters from him to the Christian princes. There is one to Pope Alexander III. to the king of France, to the emperor of Constantinople, and to the king of Portugal. They are all written in a very elevated style ; and the author of them has attempted to give those to whom they are addressed a high opinion of the power of the prince from whom they came, as the most mighty of all the Asiatic kings. There is in France a copy of that which was sent to Louis VII. father of Philip Augustus, but it doth not appear by the character to be above 300 years old. It begins with these words, *Prester-John, by the grace of God, powerful above all Christian kings.*

The following part of the letter is extremely pompous for a Keraite prince. He boasts of his immense wealth, and the prodigious extent of his dominions, in which he includes the Indies and all the nations of Gog and Magog. He makes mention in haughty terms of 70 tributary kings who depend upon him. He enlarges upon the tribute which he exacts from a king of Israel, who has many Jewish earls, dukes, and princes subordinate

ordinate to him. He gives the king of France an invitation to visit him, promising to put a large country into his possession, and even to make him sovereign after his own death of all his dominions. He takes notice in his letter of the different nations, and of the curiosities which are found in his territories; and, in short, leaves nothing unsaid that might contribute to the idea of his greatness. He calls himself a priest from sacrificing on the altar, and a king from administering right and justice. He speaks of St Thomas in the end of his letter agreeably to the fabulous notions of the Indians; and concludes with desiring the king to send him some valiant knight *of the generation of France*.

There is no great difficulty in discovering that these letters were suppositions and not written by Ung-can: The Nestorians who inhabited this country in great numbers, where they had established themselves in the year 737 by the missionaries of Moussul and Bassora, were the authors of them. They had spread a report among the Christians that they had brought Scythia over to Christianity, and that the true religion had been embraced by the greatest of its monarchs, who was so entirely converted, that he had taken the priesthood upon him, and had assumed the name of *John*. They added these circumstances to give their fables a greater appearance of truth, and wrote those high sounding letters to make their zeal more applauded, and to procure the reputation of having converted so powerful a prince to Christianity.

All the assistance that these letters can furnish towards compiling an history is, that we learn from them, that it was believed at the time in which they were written, that this king was a powerful Christian prince, and even a priest. We have a letter of the

Pope, in which he is called a most holy priest. There is nevertheless no appearance of his being a Christian, although he allowed Christianity in his kingdom, and part of his people who embraced it were permitted to have bishops among them.

Thus far Mr de la Croix Petit, who cites here the very words of Rubriquis; which plainly make it appear that the Nestorians imposed upon the public in those letters which they wrote concerning Ung-can, the pretended Prester-John. “ Et vocabant eum Nestoriani  
 “ Regem Johannem, et plus dicebant de ipso in de-  
 “ cuplo quam veritas esset; sic ergo exivit magna fa-  
 “ ma de illo Rege Johane; et quando ego transivi per  
 “ pascua ejus, nullus aliquid sciebat de eo nisi Ne-  
 “ storiani pauci.” “ The Nestorians (says he) made  
 “ this prince whom they called *King John* much talk-  
 “ ed of, by reporting ten times more than was true;  
 “ and when I travelled through his country, none but  
 “ a few Nestorians could give any account of him.”

Carpin the Cordelier was sent in 1246 to the Khan of Tartary by Pope Innocent IV.; and Rubriquis, who was likewise a Cordelier, went from St Lewis into Tartary about seven years afterwards; neither of these have given any prince of that country the title of *Prester-John*. Marco Polo did not travel into that country till 20 years after them, and was the first and perhaps the only writer who has said that Ung-can's brother was a priest.

After having spoken in the fifty-first Chapter of Prester-John, he adds, that this mighty monarch, so renowned throughout the whole world, keeps his ordinary residence in the province of Tenduch, which tho' it be tributary to the Grand Khans, yet enjoys its own sovereigns, who are of the race of Prester-John;  
 and



and that all the Grand Khans, since the death of him who died in battle against Chingiscan, give their daughters in marriage to these kings.

The story is well told, but it doth not appear that any of these princes were priests; and the kings of Abyssinia, on the contrary, have almost all taken that character upon them. Severus, bishop of Asmonine, who lived at the end of the 10th century, has left us a testimony of the religion and power of the kings of Ethiopia. Elkera, says he, was king of the Abyssins, and orthodox: This is the mighty king upon whose head the crown falls from heaven, whose dominions extend to the farthest parts of the southern world; the fourth of the monarchs of the earth, the king whose power is not to be resisted. His patron saint is the evangelist St Mark, and the authority of the Jacobite patriarch of Egypt extends to him and to all the kings of Ethiopia and Nubia. He has in his country, near his person, an orthodox bishop, who is ordained Metropolitan by the patriarch of Alexandria, and by him are the other bishops consecrated and the priests ordained.

Abuselah having repeated almost the same things with Severus, adds, “ All these kings are priests and  
“ offer the mysteries upon the altars, who when they  
“ are kings, kill nothing with their own hands; and  
“ he who is so unhappy as to shed blood, is for ever  
“ deprived of the office of sacrifice. When he enters  
“ the sanctuary he takes off his crown, which is the  
“ mark of his dignity, and remains standing and bare-  
“ headed, till every one of the people have received  
“ the communion; and if he intends to communicate  
“ himself, he is the last that receives.” The same author repeats the same account lower, and then tells us,  
“ That if the king shall kill any thing, there is no pact  
“ or

“ or condition which obliges his subjects to continue  
 “ their allegiance.”

It appears by this last circumstance how much the Abyssins reverence the priesthood; since the king, tho' entirely absolute amongst them, and of uncontrollable authority, could not enter the sanctuary without taking orders.

The Abyssins relate that their Caleb or Elesbas, who lived in the beginning of the 16th century, was a priest and celebrated mass 40 years. It is apparent that they had not then that strict law which absolves the subjects from their fidelity to their king if he stains his hands with blood; for King Caleb crossed the sea to make war upon Denawas a Jewish king of the Homerites, whose kingdom he destroyed and killed him. The Abyssins affirm likewise that Abraham, one of their kings who reigned since Lalibala, was not only a priest, but so favoured by heaven, that two angels brought him the bread and wine which he made use of in the celebration of the sacrament.

There is therefore no room to question that many of the Abyssin princes have been priests; when at the same time the brother of Ung-can is the only one in Asia said to have exercised that function, and even his name is not mentioned. Besides, it is not very probable that this king of the Oriental Turks, who, being a priest, usurped the sovereign dignity in 1098, was yet living in 1177. As he therefore could not be the king to whom Alexander III. wrote, it can probably be none but the king of Ethiopia. To this may be added, that Marco Polo, who first advanced the notion that Ung-can was the Prester-John, informs us likewise that Ethiopia was called the *Lesser India*, but doth not say that the name of India was extended to the country of  
 the

the Oriental Turks. It then follows from the account of Marco Polo himself, that this king of India, to whom Pope Alexander's letter is addressed, must be the emperor of Ethiopia; which letter, as it is a valuable monument of the church of Abyssinia, may, I hope, properly be inserted here, as it is found in Hoveden.

EPISTOLA *Alexandri Papæ.*

Ad Johannem Regem Indorum Miffa.

“ ALEXANDER Episcopus servus servorum Dei, Cha-  
 “ rissimo in Christo filio, illustri et magnifico indorum  
 “ regi sacerdotum sanctissimo salutem et apostolicam  
 “ benedictionem. Apostolica sedes, cui, licet imme-  
 “ riti, præsidemus, omnium in Christo credentium ca-  
 “ put est et magistra, domino attestante, qui ait beato  
 “ Petro, cui, licet indigni, successimus, tu es Petrus, et  
 “ super hanc petram ædificabo ecclesiam meam. Hanc  
 “ siquidem petram Christus esse voluit in ecclesiæ fun-  
 “ damentum, quam præconat nullis ventorum viribus  
 “ nullisque tempestatibus quatiendam et ideo non im-  
 “ merito beatus Petrus, superquem fundavit ecclesiam  
 “ ligandi atque solvendi specialiter et precipue inter  
 “ apostolos alios meruit accipere potestatem, cui dic-  
 “ tum est a domino, tibi dabo claves regni cælorum  
 “ et portæ inferni non prævalebunt adversus eam. Et  
 “ quodcumque ligaveris super terram erit ligatum et  
 “ in cœlis; et quodcumque solveris super terram, erit  
 “ solutum et in celis. Audiveramus utique jampridem  
 “ referentibus multis, et in fama communi, quomodo  
 “ cum sis Christianum nomen professus, piis velis ope-  
 “ ribus indefinenter intendere et circa ea tuum ani-  
 “ mum geras, quæ Deo grata sunt, et accepta. Sed  
 “ et

“ et dilectus filius magister Philippus medicus et fa-  
“ miliaris noster, qui de intentione pia et proposito  
“ tuo, cum magnis et honorabilibus viris regni tui se in  
“ partibus illis verbum habuisse proponit, sicut vir pro-  
“ vidus et discretus circumspectus et prudens, constan-  
“ ter nobis et solícite retulit, se manifestius ab his au-  
“ disse quod tuæ voluntatis sit et propositi erudiri Ca-  
“ tholica et apostolica disciplina, et ad hoc ferventer  
“ intendas, ut tu et terra tuæ sublimitati commissa,  
“ nihil unquam videamini in fide vestra tenere, quod à  
“ doctrina sedis apostolicæ dissentiat modo quolibet,  
“ vel discordet. Super quo sane tibi sicut Charissimo  
“ filio plurimum congaudemus et ei a quo omne do-  
“ num procedit, immensas gratiarum exsoluimus ac-  
“ tiones: vota votis et preces precibus adjungentes, ut  
“ qui dedit tibi nomen Christianitatis suscipere, menti  
“ tuæ per suam ineffabilem pietatem inspiret, quod  
“ omnino velis sapere quæ super omnibus articulis  
“ fidei tenere debet religio Christiana. Non enim vere  
“ potest de Christiana professione sperare salutem, qui  
“ eidem professioni verbo et opere non concordat:  
“ quia non sufficit cuilibet nomine Christiano censi,  
“ qui de se sentit aliud, quam Catholica et apostolica  
“ habeat disciplina juxta illud quod dominus in evan-  
“ gelio dicit, non omnis qui dicit mihi domine, do-  
“ mine, intrabit in regnum cœlorum, sed qui facit  
“ voluntatem patris mei, qui in cœlis est. Illud autem  
“ nihilominus ad commendationem tuæ virtutis acce-  
“ dit, quod sicut prudens magister Philippus se a tuis  
“ asserit audisse, ferventi desiderio cuperes in urbe ha-  
“ bere ecclesiam, et Jerosolymitanum altare aliquod,  
“ ubi viri prudentes de regno tuo manere possint, et  
“ apostolica plenius instrui disciplina; per quos post-  
“ modum tu, et homines regni tui doctrinam ipsam re-  
“ ciperent

ciperent et tenerent. Nos autem, qui licet insuffi-  
cientibus meritis in beati Petri cathedra positi, jux-  
ta apostolum, sapientibus et insipientibus, divitibus  
et pauperibus, nos recognoscimus debitores, de salute  
tua et tuorum omnimodam sollicitudinem gerimus,  
et vos ab his articulis, in quibus erratis a Christiana  
et catholica fide, prompto animo, prout tenemur ex  
suscepti ministerio regiminis, volumus revocare: cum  
ipse dominus beato Petro, quem omnium apostolo-  
rum principem fecit, dixit, et tu aliquando conver-  
sus confirma fratres tuos. Licet autem grave nimis  
videatur et laboriosum existere ad præsentiam tuam  
inter tot labores et varia itineris locorum discrimina,  
et inter longas et ignotas oras quemlibet a nostro la-  
tere destinare; considerato tamen officii nostri debito  
et tuo proposito et intentione pensata præfatum Phi-  
lippum medicum et familiarem nostrum, virum uti-  
que discretum, circumspectum et providum, ad tuam  
magnitudinem mittimus de Jesu Christi misericordia  
confidentes. Quod si volueris in eo proposito et in-  
tentione persistere quam te, inspirante domino, intel-  
ligimus concepisse; de articulis Christianæ, fidei, in  
quibus tu et tui a nobis discordare videmini in prox-  
imo per Dei misericordiam eruditus, nihil prorsus ti-  
mere poteris, quod de errore tuum vel tuorum salu-  
tem præpediat, vel in vobis nomen Christianitatis  
offuscet. Rogamus itaque excellentiam regiam, mo-  
nemus et hortamur in domino quatenus eundem Phi-  
lippum, proreverentia beati Petri et nostra, sicut vi-  
rum honestum, discretum et providum, et a nostro  
latere destinatum, debita benignitate recipias, et re-  
verenter et devote pertractes; et si tuæ voluntatis est  
et propositi, sicut omino decet esse, ut erudiaris apo-  
stolica disciplina, super his, quæ idem Philippus ex  
“ nostra

“ nostra tibi parte proponet, ipsum diligenter audias  
 “ et exaudias, et personas honestas et literas tuo Sigil-  
 “ lo Sigillatas, quibus propositum et voluntatem tuam  
 “ possimus plene cognoscere, ad nos cum ipso transmit-  
 “ tas : quia quanto sublimior et major haberis, et mi-  
 “ nus de divitiis et potentia tua videris inflatus, tanto  
 “ libentius, tam de concessione ecclesiæ in Urbe, quam  
 “ etiam de conferendis altaribus in ecclesia beati Petri  
 “ et Pauli, et Jerosolymis in ecclesia sepulchri domini,  
 “ et in aliis quæ justè quæsieris, tuas curabimus peti-  
 “ tiones admittere et efficacius exaudire, utpote qui  
 “ desiderium tuum super hoc quod multa commenda-  
 “ tione dignum extitit, modis omnibus, quibus secun-  
 “ dum Deum possumus, volumus promovere et tuam  
 “ et tuorum animas desideramus domino lucrifa-  
 “ cere. Data Venetiæ in Rivo alto quinto kal. Oc-  
 “ tobris.”

It appears by this letter, that the king of Ethiopia was desirous of subjecting himself to the see of Rome; and requested two churches for his nation, one at Rome, the other at Jerusalem. At Rome the Abyssins have formerly had the church of St Stephen, and another church at Jerusalem.

We have an account, that in the 12th century, the emperor of Ethiopia was so dissatisfied with the conduct of the patriarch of Alexandria, that he formed a design of withdrawing himself from his jurisdiction. This difference first arose under Gabriel the son of Tareik the 70th patriarch of Alexandria, who was elected about the year 1131, and was still on foot in the time of John the son of Abugaleb the 74th patriarch. The original of this discontent was, that the kings of Abyssinia would have compelled Michael the Abuna to

consecrate several bishops ; which he refused to do without the consent of the patriarch of Alexandria : upon which the king wrote not only to the patriarch, but to the calif ; who not understanding the importance of such an innovation, spoke to Gabriel about it, and proceeded after some importunity to menaces. But being informed, that if the Abyssins could obtain several bishops, they might elect a patriarch of their own, and separate themselves from the church of Alexandria, the calif was not only content to drop his former demand, but commended the patriarch for his refusal.

The same Abuna was embarrassed with other difficulties of greater danger. There happened in his time a revolution in Abyssinia, by which the legal order of succession was broken ; and the usurping prince not being able to prevail on the Abuna to crown him, demanded of the patriarch of Alexandria that he should nominate another, alleging that the great age of Michael made him incapable of performing the duties of his office. John the 72d patriarch of Alexandria refused to comply, and for his refusal was imprisoned by the Vizier Haly the son of Telar, whom the new king had brought over to his interest, choosing rather to be deprived of the pleasures of liberty than to do any thing so contrary to the canons of the church.

These frequent debates with the patriarchs, which the kings of Abyssinia have been embroiled in, might easily suggest a design of having recourse to Rome ; and if Mr Ludolf had been acquainted with these particulars, he would perhaps have been more cautious in determining, that this letter was written to the khan of Tartary, or of the Oriental Turks. It is of no great importance to know whether it was Pope Alexander

der III. who allowed the Abyssins the church of St Stephen's at Rome, and another at Jerusalem; that they requested such a grant is plain, and they have always obtained it. If the Portuguese were the first that gave us any knowledge of Abyssinia, let the patrons of that opinion inform us, how Zara Jacob, or to speak more properly, the Abuna Nicodemus, then established at Jerusalem, wrote to Pope Eugenius IV. It cannot be denied that the emperor of Ethiopia is mentioned as the true Prester-John, in a letter from the grand-master of Rhodes to King Charles VII. before the Portuguese had discovered that part of the world, and 40 years before any of them had travelled into that country; Antony Payva and Peter Covillan not being sent in search of Prester-John till the year 1477. It is easy to judge from the grand-master's letter, whether the emperor of Ethiopia was known at that time by the name of *Prester-John*, which I choose to lay before the reader, as it is found in page 556, of the seventh volume of the *Spicilegium*.

“ SERENISSIME et Christianissime Francorum Rex,  
 “ debita recommendatione præmissa. Consuerunt sem-  
 “ per læto animo principes audire ea quæ in exteris  
 “ regionibus geruntur, et præsertim si quid est quod ad  
 “ detrimentum infidelitum intercesserit. Nuperrimè  
 “ siquidem ex literis ex Constantinopoli, pera et chio  
 “ huc Rhodum missis, nobis innotuit magnum teucro-  
 “ rum sive Turchorum regem classem ingentem para-  
 “ visse, exercitumque coadunasse, ut terra marique ip-  
 “ sam Constantini urbem oppugnaret. Quæ classis, cum  
 “ in Danubium flumen esset ingressa, descendissentque  
 “ teucri plurimi ex ea in terram, repente classis blanchi  
 “ longè ea inferior numero, ex superiore ad nos parte  
 “ infiluit,



“ infiluit, et ferè infidelium totam classem combussit.  
 “ Illi verò qui terram petierant, à blanchi gentibus  
 “ trucidati sunt. Hoc infortunio et clade Teucris data,  
 “ et Imperatoria ipsa civitas, et omnes insulæ Ægæi  
 “ pelagi à formidine magna, Deo victoriam Christianis  
 “ dante, liberati sunt.

“ Insuper *Presbyter Johannes Indorum Imperator*, ut  
 “ quidam sacerdotes Indiani huc Rhodum devecti  
 “ per veros interpretes dixerunt, magnam stragem et  
 “ occisionem *Saracenis suis finitimis*; et his maximà qui  
 “ ex stirpe Machometi se ortos prædicant, intulit, ut  
 “ vix credatur: nam per trium dierum iter passim ca-  
 “ davera occisorum conspiciebantur. Destinavit præ-  
 “ terea oratorem is Indorum rex Soldano Babyloniae  
 “ cum muneribus, sicut mos orientalium est, ei denun-  
 “ tians nisi ab affligendo Christianos desierit, se bellum  
 “ pestiferum civitati Mechæ, ubi sepulchrum Macho-  
 “ meti esse dicitur, *Ægypto, Arabia, et Syria, quæ di-*  
 “ *tioni ipsius Soldani-subjectæ sunt, illaturum; flumen-*  
 “ *que Nili totum, qui Ægyptum irrigat, et sine quo nullus*  
 “ *illic vivere posset, surrepturum, et iter aliud illi datu-*  
 “ *rum simili pacto minitans.* Orator ipse primò bene  
 “ admissus et visus fuit; datâque ei copia ut sanctum  
 “ sepulchrûm domini nostri viseret. Qui cùm reversus  
 “ ad Cayrum fuisset, ab ipso Soldano carceri traditus  
 “ est, hac intentione illum non relaxaturum, nisi orator  
 “ suus ad Indiam missus et detentus non redierit. Hæc  
 “ sunt memoratu digna, et serenitate vestræ dignissima,  
 “ quam semper valere optamus.”

Datum Rhodi in nostro conventu, die tertia Julii  
 anno domini millesimo quadringentesimo quadragesi-  
 mo octavo. Serenitatis vestræ magister hospitalis Jeru-  
 salem.

We are far from giving credit to every thing contained in that letter ; but it is sufficient for our purpose that the emperor of Ethiopia was known in 1448 to the grand-master of Rhodes under the name of *Prestor-John*, nothing being more apparent than that the Portuguese were not the first who mentioned him by that name. Mr Thevenot informs us, that father Jerome Lobo believed that title to have been first ascribed to him by the French who visited the Holy-Land, as the reader may find in the conference related by him.

The Abyssins were much addicted to pilgrimages into the Holy-Land ; and this temper prevailed most among them at the time when the French went often into Asia to carry on their wars in those countries. It was from their conversation with the Abyssins that they learned the appellation of *Prestor* or *Priest-John* ; for those people, to raise the higher idea of their monarch, added to his other offices and titles that of priesthood.



DISSER.

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# DISSERTATION V.

## ON THE

### KINGS OF ABYSSINIA:

Their CORONATION, TITLES, QUEENS, and SONS.  
Of their ARMIES, and the Manner of Distributing  
JUSTICE.

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**A**S the Sabæans or Homerites were not very careful to preserve their history, the Abyssins were much less curious; so great has been their supineness, that the very names of their kings can scarce be recovered. The Portuguese fathers have given us the succession, drawn from two different manuscripts, which, as they make no scruple to confess, scarce ever agree. They reckon 100 kings from Meneleck the son of Solomon, and Makeda Queen of Sheba, to Sultan Jaflok Aduam Sagghed; but they neither tell us when their kings begun, nor when they ended their reigns. All the history they have preserved is some account of Caleb or St Elebas, who lived in 521; of whom they relate, that at the instigation of the patriarch of Alexandria, he passed the sea with a large fleet and a very formidable army to punish Denawas, a Jewish prince, who had raised a cruel persecution against the Christians; that he defeated him in two battles; and after his death, which happened in the last fight, made himself

P 2

master

master of his whole kingdom, and put an end to the power of the Sabæans or Homerites. Part of this new acquisition he dismembered from the rest, and gave the sovereignty of it to the son of the holy martyr Aretas; the other part paid tribute to the king of Ethiopia 72 years, till Sait. Ibn di-Jazan resolving to continue no longer dependant on the Abyssins, entered into an alliance with the Persians; by which the kingdom of the Homerites was divided into two parties, one declaring for the Persians, the other for the Romans, with whom and the Abyssins the Persians were at war. This debate kindled so long and destructive a war in the country, that Mahomet, finding it almost empty of men, and entirely laid waste, took possession of it with very little difficulty or opposition; since which time the Abyssins have been shut up in Africa, without having any communication with the nations of Asia and Europe, till the Portuguese having penetrated into their country made it known to the other Europeans.

It is handed down by a kind of tradition, that, towards the end of the 10th century, the succession of the posterity of Menilech was interrupted by the enormous wickedness of Tradda Gaboz, a woman of unparalleled impiety and cruelty, who procured the death of the whole royal family, that she might place upon the throne a son which she had by the governor of Bugna. The Abyssins, from the mischief she did, call her *Essal*, that is fire, because she destroyed every thing about her like that devouring element. Only one prince found means to escape her malice, who concealed himself in the kingdom of Xaoa, where his posterity continued during the 300 years in which the family of Zagüe, which had usurped the government, reigned in Abyssinia.

The

The Abyssins, who consider the princes of the house of Zague as men who illegally seized upon the kingdom, do not reckon them among their kings; for which reason, only the names of some of the most remarkable have been preserved: these, as Mr Ludolf tells us, are Degna Michael, Newuja Christos, Lalibala, who cut so many magnificent temples out of the rocks, of which Alvarez has given us the plans, and Naaca Lua-bo, who, as he affirms, was the last of that family, and is celebrated by the Abyssins as a good king, a lover of peace, and favourite of Heaven.

The patriarch Alphonso Mendez mentions these kings in a different order, and by different names; and says, that the empire was transferred from the house of Israel to that of Zague in 960, and restored to the legal successor in 1300.

Of all these monarchs scarce any has left the memory of his reign behind him except Lalibala, of whom the Abyssins relate many wonders, being won to an admiration of him by the happiness of a long peace which they enjoyed in his reign, and by the great number of churches which he built of a very particular structure, being hewn out of the hard rock with pick-axes and chissels.

Of these churches the most considerable is called after the name of the founder Lalibala, who notwithstanding is buried in the church of Golgotha. He is counted among their saints; and the 7th of June, according to their calendar, that is the 12th according to our computation, is kept as a festival to his honour. Balthazar Tellez places this feast on the 17th, whose account of the saint, whose memory is on that day celebrated, may not be unacceptable.

On the 17th of June, says the Father, died the blessed Lalibala emperor of Ethiopia, that holy admirer of the mysteries of Heaven. When that saint was born, his parents determined to bring him up in the fear of God; whose care had so wonderful an effect, that when he came to the age of reason, being scourged by the command of the emperor his brother, who was enraged to find that he would certainly succeed him, he was so miraculously protected that no blow would light upon him. The angel who guarded him, told him that he should build ten churches; which he did, and died in peace.

After him the crown fell again to the descendants of the House of Israel, whose names and reigns it would be superfluous and tiresome to enumerate; since their names, and the number of years for which they bore the sceptre, are all that we know of them.

Though the kingdom of Abyssinia be so far hereditary that only one family can sit on the throne, yet the reigning prince has the power of choosing out of the royal family whom he pleases for a successor; which, if he omits it, is done by the grandees of the kingdom, who elect him for their king whom they judge most capable of so high an office.

It was the custom formerly to keep the princes confined in the mountain Guexen, where the temper and manners of each prince were diligently observed; and when they had agreed upon him whom they determined to place upon the throne, the governor of Tigré went with the great men and some troops to bring the new king. The governor left his men ranged in order at the foot of the rock, and went with the nobles to the lodging of the king-elect, and fixing a ring of gold in his ear as the first mark of royalty, commanded the

the other princes to pay homage to their king. The princes were presently sent back to their former confinement, and the new monarch conducted to his troops at the bottom of the mountain, where the principal officers, alighting from their horses, paid their salutations, and conducted him to a tent prepared for his reception. There having alighted, he was anointed with perfumed oil by one of the chief ecclesiastics, while the other priests chaunted psalms. They then dressed him in the royal habit, put a crown on his head, and a naked sword in his hand, and placed him upon the throne: after which, the grand almoner, standing upon an eminence, proclaims him by his name to the people, who answer with repeated acclamations, and pray for all kind of blessings upon their new monarch. This ceremony practised in the royal tent, is repeated, if it were not first performed there, in the church of Axuma, where the king enters the sanctuary after his coronation, hears mass, and receives the sacrament.

The crown of the king of Abyssinia is only a hat embroidered with gold and silver lace, having a cross on the top, and being lined with blue velvet. The Abyssins, having observed in the pictures of the coronation of their kings which adorn their churches, an angel holding a crown, have conceived an opinion that the Abyssinian crown fell from heaven. And this opinion is so far from being of modern date, that Severus, who lived near the end of the 10th century, speaks of it as a thing not to be called in question.

The kings of Abyssinia having formerly had several princes tributary to them, still retain the title of emperor, or king of the kings of Ethiopia; and when their subjects speak to them in the Ethiopic language,

they make use of the word Hatzeghe, which answers nearly to the French word Sire.

The emperors of Ethiopia, when they mount the throne, take an adscititious name, without laying aside their former. Thus David, who first sent ambassadors to Portugal, added the name Onagegued, Sufneus that of Malec Segued, afterwards Sultan Segued. Segued, which is now become a kind of hereditary title, signifies *venerable*. The escutcheon is a lion holding a cross, with this motto, *Vicit leo de tribu Juda*.

Although for the most part the emperors of Ethiopia have a great number of wives, yet only one of them enjoys the dignity of queen, whose title is *Itegbe*.

Nor is this honour conferred any other way than by the grant of the emperor; who, when he has determined to bestow this favour upon any of his wives, orders her to be brought magnificently dressed from her own tent to his, where he makes her sit down by his side: upon which one of the principal men of the court proclaims aloud, that the king has made his servant queen, which puts an end to the ceremony; and the lady from that time is treated as empress. If the king her husband dies, though his successor be only her son-in-law, or even though he be not related at all to her, he always regards her as his mother, nor can any other woman, during her life, take the title of queen.

Nobody ever eats with the emperor of Abyssinia, not even the queen herself; nor have any the honour to see him at table except his pages that wait: but the queen always eats with a great number of ladies.

Anciently the princes who had any right or pretension to the crown, were, as hath been before related, kept under a strong guard on Mount Guexen; which  
custom



custom continued for 200 years. Naod, the father of David, was the last who was raised from that prison to the throne. As the king was playing one day with a young prince about eight years old, a counsellor that stood by observed to him, that his son was very much grown : the child immediately apprehending the meaning of his words, burst into tears, and lamented that he was grown only to be the sooner sent to Guxen. The king, touched at the return, declared that the royal offspring should be no more confined in that manner. Thus, by this accident, was an end put to the slavery of the princes of Abyssinia.

As for the princesses, whom they call in this country *Ozoray*, they had never any reason to complain of restraint ; for either we ought to disbelieve many relations of their conduct, or they indulge themselves in a kind of libertinism, which will not easily be made consistent with the Christianity they profess. To them the chains of marriage are not very burdensome ; for they throw them off when they please, changing their husbands according to their own caprice, and frequently procuring their deaths. Nor has the most insatiable ambition of monarchs, either to gain or enlarge an empire, been the occasion of more broils and troubles than the intrigues and passions of these women.

Formerly the emperors of Ethiopia were never seen by their subjects, and concerned themselves very little in the government of their kingdom ; all the power being deposited in the hands of two officers, whom they called *Babtuded*, that is, minister and favourite. This custom is now so far changed, that the king appears in public three or four times a-year, but is never seen at meals ; and when he gives audience even to strangers,  
he

he is always concealed behind a curtain. Instead of the Bahtuded, there is now a generalissimo established under the title of *Ras*, or chief, and under him two intendants of the household; on one of which depend the viceroys, governors, captains, and judges, and on the other all the inferior officers of the household.

The king's authority is so unlimited, that no man can in this country be called with justice proprietor of any thing: nor doth any man when he sows his field know that he shall reap it; for the king may bestow the fruits upon whom he pleases: and all the satisfaction the former possessor can hope for, is, that some man be appointed to bring in the estimate of the expences he had been at in cultivating it, in order to his reimbursement. But the arbitrator is always favourable to the present owner, whom he presumes to have more interest than the person dispossessed.

Theft is so established in this country, that the head of the robbers purchases his employment, and pays tribute to the king.

With all these advantages, and this great extent of prerogative, the king of Abyssinia is by no means rich. Every thing is paid in kind; and the most valuable branch of his revenue is a tithe which he takes every third year of the cattle. He receives likewise about 3000 pieces of calicoe. The governors purchase their commissions, or, to speak properly, their privilege of pillaging the provinces, and pay yearly a stated sum of money, which arises to no great value.

The viceroyship of Tigre is the most valuable, and contains several subordinate governments, which do not pay altogether above 25,000 livres yearly. Those in Dambia pay above 50,000, and the rest in proportion.

The

The king is in possession of vast tracts of land, which are put in the hands of his viceroys, who take the charge upon them of cultivating them, and giving an account of the produce. He receives no money from any of his provinces except Gojam and Narea.

As the whole revenue of the emperor consists in lands and goods, he has nothing else to pay his troops with. He therefore gives them lands; and if what he has assigned be not sufficient, he distributes corn amongst them.

The emperor of Ethiopia is able to bring 40,000 men into the field, and among them about 5000 horse; but his forces are less formidable, because they know not the use of fire-arms, of which they have but few, and less powder. They are armed generally with half-pikes and bucklers, instead of which some of the horsemen have coats of mail.

As they spend almost their whole lives in the camp, they order their march without much difficulty, though they carry their wives and children with them; which so swells their numbers, that there are often 40,000 persons in an army of 10,000 men, who provide for themselves as they can. What in some measure balances the inconveniences of such numerous and unserviceable attendants, is, that there is no nation which can endure the extremes of heat and cold, or the hardships of hunger and thirst, and rain, with less inconvenience than the Abyssins, who are sufficiently robust and active, but march to action without any regularity; for they know not what a battalion or squadron is, and therefore are soon disordered in a day of battle. If the king marches with them in person, he is always attended by the flower of the nobility.

After

After having given an account of their wars and forces, it would be proper to say something of their civil government and courts of judicature; but these have been so fully cleared in the foregoing relation, that nothing can be added, and what has been already said it is superfluous to repeat.

DIS-

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# DISSERTATION VI.

ON THE

R E D - S E A,

AND THE

NAVIGATION OF SOLOMON'S FLEETS.

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SINCE the patriarch Alphonso Mendez, and the Fathers Jerome Lobo and Balthazar Tellez have written their observation on the Red-Sea, it seems proper to examine their sentiments. All three have given us a confutation of the ancient opinions, in order to establish a new one, in my opinion not better grounded. The two former tell us, that they used frequently to divert themselves upon the water, and took a particular pleasure in turning the boat to those places in which any redness appeared, where they made an Indian that waited on them dive into the water, who always brought up with him a plant called *gouesmon*, and that when this was plucked away, the redness always disappeared.

That there are great quantities of *gouesmon* in the Red-Sea, and that it gives the water an appearance of redness which it has not naturally, is undeniable; but it is not very probable that, from so trifling a cause, all the nations of the earth should have agreed to give this gulph the name of the Red-Sea.

Father

Father Balthasar Tellez remarks, that though Moses often makes mention of the Red-Sea, he never mentions it by that name; and draws this conclusion from his remark, that it was not known by it till the Israelites went from Egypt, and Pharaoh and his whole army was swallowed in the waters; and that it took that appellation from this great and miraculous event. He objects to his own hypothesis, that those who are drowned do not lose much blood, and gets over it as well as he can.

Mr Bochart was the first publisher of an opinion which has been received by Mr Ludolf, and which seems to us the most probable. We read in the 25th chapter of Genesis, that Edom signifies *red*; and it is with great probability on their side, that some learned men maintain the Red-Sea to have derived its name from Edom. It is unquestionably evident from scripture, that the country of Edom bordered upon the Red-Sea; and Fuller is of opinion, that the king Erythra or Erythræus, reported by the Greeks to have left his name to these waters, was no other than Esau, who was called Edom after he had sold his birth-right for the pottage. Nothing is more common than to give the sea a name from the neighbouring country; and we read in the first book of Kings, that Solomon built his ships on the coast of the Red-Sea, in the country of Edom.

The learned Father Hardouin believes that he has sufficient reasons for refusing to subscribe to this opinion, having discovered in his vast reading, that the Southern Ocean had the name of the Red-Sea before it was given to the gulph of Arabia. I should agree with Vossius, says he, that the name of the Red-Sea was derived from Idumæus or Edom, which in the  
Hebrew

Hebrew language signifies *red*; had it not appeared from ancient writers, that the Southern Ocean was known by that name before it was given to the Arabian gulph. We are bold to hope for pardon from this great scholar, if we say that an appellation, common likewise to the Southern Ocean, might easily have been given to the Gulph of Arabia.

Among the reasons which Pliny sets down for this appellation, he mentions the foregoing; “*Irrumpit deinde, et in hac parte geminum, mare in terras quod Rubrum dixere nostri, Græci Erythræum, a rege Erythrâ;*” relating afterwards the sentiments of those who wrote before him, without coming to any determination.

It is sufficiently probable that the fleets of Solomon which sailed from the coast of Edom made this sea so celebrated, and first gave it the name of Edom or Red, which it has retained for so many ages, and by which it is known by all the nations of the world.

It would perhaps be unnecessary to follow the fleets of Solomon any farther, were there not reason to believe that we should discover them on the coast of Ethiopia; nothing being more probable than that the two countries of that name supplied them with their wealthy lading, notwithstanding it has been imagined that their voyages were much longer, since they were three years in making them.

All the learned men who have undertaken to treat of this subject have been in more care to make a pompous display of their own erudition than a discovery of the truth. They have advanced imaginary systems to show how well they could defend them, and have ransacked their memories for quotations, and their invention

tion for arguments, to support the greatest uncertainties.

Some of these writers have conjectured, from the word Parvaim, that these ships sailed to Peru; others declare for the Isle of Saint Domingo; and several for Malaca, whom Mr Bochart has examined with great diligence; and setting aside the notion as not sufficiently supported, concludes in favour of Ceylon.

I cannot but think, that if these great men had been acquainted with the history of Eastern Ethiopia, they would have taken some notice of what is said in the second book; which, after having made the reader somewhat more acquainted with our author, we shall turn to cite.

Father John Dos-Santos, a Dominican monk, set sail from Lisbon with thirteen more of his own order in April 1586; and arriving at Mozambique in August, was employed in the missions of that country. His superiors directed him to keep his principal residence at Sofala; from whence he was continually travelling to all parts of that region, where he continued 11 years constantly attending those laborious duties. He made in the mean time several voyages from Sofala to Mozambique, which are 160 leagues distant, and penetrated 200 leagues into the inland parts, passing up the river Cuamo to Tete, where the Dominican fathers had then an establishment, which the Jesuits are now said to be in possession of. The observations which he made in his missions were printed by him at Evora in 1609, under the title of the Eastern Ethiopia.

The fortress of Sofala, says he, is placed in 32 degrees and an half southward, on the coast of the Eastern Ethiopia, near the sea, at the mouth of a river of the same name which rises in Mozambique, about 100



leagues off, and runs by Zimbaoe, the common residence of the Quiteve or king of that country. The inhabitants of Sofala carry their merchandises up this river to Manica, which is 60 leagues higher in the country, where they sell their teeth, and receive gold-dust. Thirty leagues from Sofala is the celebrated and wealthy river of Cuama, called by the Cafres, Zambese. The head of this river is undiscovered; but the tradition among the natives is, that in the midst of Ethiopia is a vast lake which gives rise to many rivers, and among them to the Cuama, which they say is named Zambese, from a village by which it runs not far from the lake. This river is extremely rapid, and in some places a league in breadth. At 30 leagues from the sea it divides itself into two branches, each of which appears as large as the whole stream did before it was parted. The principal stream is called *Luabo*, which divides again into two other branches; and the lesser *Guilimane*, or the river of *Welcome-tokens*, because Vasco de Gamo there discovered some marks by which he knew that he was near Mozambique, where he hoped to meet with some pilots to guide him in the rest of his voyage to the Indies. He raised a stone pillar with a cross and the arms of Portugal, and called the country, *The Land of Saint Raphael*.

From the Guilimane rises another branch; so that this mighty river Cuama or Zambese discharges itself into the sea through five mouths: but ships can only enter at the Luabo and Guilimane; nor at the latter except in winter, when the waters are high.

Vessels pass up the Luabo as far as the kingdom of Sicambe, which is much higher than Tete; and there the river falls from a rock of wonderful height, beyond which the channel is so obstructed by rocks, that

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it is impossible to steer a boat through it; which impediments continue for 20 leagues, as far as the kingdom of Chicoua, where silver mines are found. This river is called Aïrs, from an island of the same name near its mouth, where all the goods from Mozambique are unloaded and stowed in lighter vessels, in order to their more easy conveyance up the river to Sene, which is 60 leagues from the coast.

The Zambese is as beneficial to the inhabitants of these countries as the Nile is to the Egyptians, overflowing the land in the month of April, and giving it fatness and fertility.

The merchants of Tete come down to Sene with great store of gold, which they fetch from Massapa in the kingdom of Menomotapa, where vast quantities of that metal are always to be had, it being in the neighbourhood of that vast mountain Fura or Afura; on the top of which are still to be seen the ruins of edifices built of stones and lime; a thing which is observed in no other part of the country of the Cafres, where the kings' palaces themselves are nothing but wood and clay covered with briars.

We are informed by the ancient tradition of the country, that these ruins are the remains of the magazines of the queen of Sheba; who, it is said, received all her gold from the mines in this mountain, which was sent down the Cuama to the Ethiopian Sea, from whence it was transported through the Red-Sea to that of Ethiopia, which lies above Egypt, then the empire of that queen.

Father Dos-Santos, in favour of this tradition, cites the authority of Josephus, Origen, and St Jerome, and produces the testimony of the Abyssins, who are firmly persuaded that this celebrated queen was of their country,

country, where they have a village named after her, not far from Axuma.

Others are of opinion, that these magazines were erected by Solomon, and that it was from hence that the gold was brought which his ships were freighted with; observing in defence of their notion, that there is no greater difference between the words Ophir and Afura than what the various pronounciation of several nations might easily in so long a time have produced. In this they all agree, that there is a large quantity of the finest gold about that mountain, which might without the least difficulty be conveyed down the river, as is now practised by the Portuguese, and was practised before them by the Moors of Mozambique and Guiloa; and that, as it is now transported into the Indies, it might be carried anciently to Eziongeber, and from thence to Jerusalem.

We have no reason, adds the same father, to wonder that the fleets of Solomon were three years in performing this voyage; for even at this day, when the Cafres are better acquainted with the value of gold than they were then, the barks of Mozambique spend a whole year here, either in selling their freight or collecting what is owing to the merchants. Navigation was in ancient times more difficult, being performed with vessels less artfully contrived, and with pilots less skilful than now; and if the pangaies be not ready to sail in the time of the monsoon they are obliged to wait for another season: so that the vessels of Mozambique are thought sufficiently expeditious if they return within the year.

Sofala is in 32 degrees and an half south, and Eziongeber in 29 and an half north; so that the whole voyage thither and back is 2000 leagues. It is likewise to

be considered, that it is impossible to sail in the Red-Sea except by day, and then almost continually with plummet in hand ; that it is necessary to take the proper seasons for passing the Indian Sea ; that the stream of the Cuama is not to be surmounted without great difficulty ; and that Afura stands at the distance of 200 leagues from the sea : If we add to these obstacles the time which was spent in collecting the gold and silver, we shall no longer be surprised at the time required for the voyage. As to the other lading of those fleets, we find upon this coast ivory, all sorts of wood, fowls, and monkeys of various kinds.

All the objection that Father Dos-Santos seems to apprehend, is, that there are no peacocks in this country ; though to solve this, he pretends that these fowls are to be met with farther up in the land, from whence they might have been fetched. It is evident that he was unacquainted with the disagreement among the interpreters about the meaning of the word *tbukkijm* ; some of whom imagine that it signifies paroquets, and others that the true interpretation of it is *ape*, though some think it to be peacocks. So that his greatest perplexity is easily avoided.

Silver is very scarce in the east ; nor is it easy to discover more plentiful mines of it than in the kingdom of Chicoua, which extends north-eastward along the Zambese to Monomotapa. The forest of Thebe, which crosses a river of the same name, is filled with trees of a wonderful beauty, and of such vast magnitude, that of one trunk only they make boats 20 cubits long. The learned Mr Huet is of opinion, that the ivory brought into Palestine, by the fleets of Solomon did not consist only of elephants teeth, which are in great plenty to be met with in this part of Africa,

but

but of the teeth of sea-horses, on which a great value is set. These animals are as common in the rivers of Cuama and Sofala as the elephants are in the forests and plains of Ethiopia. There is great plenty of amber on this coast, and a fishery for pearls near the islands of Bocicas; so that Solomon's fleet might have found, at the mouths of the Cuama and Sofala, gold, silver, ivory, wood, and in general all that is recorded to have been brought him, except precious stones, which it went in quest of to the Gulph of Persia.

There is no less difficulty in determining the situation of Tharsis than of Ophir. The most common opinion is, that Tharsis, properly so called, is Bætica; that is, the kingdoms of Andalusia, Granada, and Murcia in Spain; but that, in a more extended signification, it may comprehend Africa, and perhaps in general all coasts, with the sea. Some, though but few, place Tharsis in the Indies, at or near China; and each party exert their utmost abilities to support their sentiments by a great number of authorities, in my opinion, to very little purpose: for since there are few writers of the age of Solomon who have treated either of geography or the course of those voyages, it seems scarce possible to advance any thing farther than probabilities; nor do the testimonies of Strabo, Pliny, and Heliodorus, quoted with great solemnity, contribute so much to clearing the truth, as displaying the author's learning.

As these writers were neither eye-witnesses nor contemporaries, it seems best to confine ourselves to the scripture, and explain one part of it by another. To come therefore at the truth, let us compare the 71st psalm with the 9th and 10th chapters of the first book of Kings, the 19th and 20th of the second book of

Chronicles, and the 2d chapter of Judith; from which it will appear, that Tharſis was in Arabia. David ſays, That “ the Ethiopians ſhall proſtrate themſelves “ before the Lord, and that his enemies ſhall lick the “ duſt:” That “ the kings of Tharſis and of the Iſles “ ſhall bring preſents; the kings of Sheba and Saba “ ſhall offer gifts.” It cannot be denied that this pſalm is a prophecy of the birth of Jeſus Chriſt, and of the acknowledgment of his divinity by the Magi, who were not far diſtant from each other, and who appear, by their offerings of myrrh, incenſe, and gold, to have come from the province of Saba in Arabia; which is affirmed by David himſelf. The fleets of Solomon which were fitted out at Ezion-geber failed to Ophir and to Tharſis either ſeparately or together. The ſhips of Jehoſophat which were loſt in the port, were to have carried on the ſame commerce at the ſame places. Jehoſophat made ſhips of Tharſhiſh to go “ to Ophir for gold; but they went not, for the “ ſhips were broken at Ezion-geber:” 1 Kings xxii. 49. “ And he joined himſelf with him to make ſhips “ to go to Tharſhiſh, and they made ſhips at Ezion- “ geber.” The Scripture ſeems to confound Tharſis and Ophir, ſince the ſame were deſigned to have gone to each place. Whether the ſquadrons ſeparated at the mouth of the Red-Sea, at the river Sofala, or any other place, they always returned together, and were therefore called either the fleet of Ophir or of Tharſis, as appears from the paſſages of the Holy Scripture; in which, when mention is made of the intent of thoſe ſhips, theſe two places are named indiſcriminately.

When Holofernes marched to beſiege Bethulia, he found, after having paſſed through Cilicia, that the Jews had poſſeſſed themſelves of the high mountains:

Taking

Taking therefore a very large compass, he plundered the wealthy city of Melothi, ravaged the countries of Tharsis and the Ishmaelites, and carried away the inhabitants. Tharsis therefore is in Arabia: and I am of opinion, that, together with Saba, it made part of it; and that, when David says, "They that dwell in the wilderness (or the Ethiopians) shall fall down before him. The kings," &c. he speaks particular of Arabia; which, as hath already been observed, was anciently known by the general name of Ethiopia, and extended along the shore of the Red-Sea to the Gulph of Ormus, where the fleet of Solomon found the precious stones, and every thing which Ophir, that is, the coast of Sofala, could not supply them with.

It is far from any appearance of probability, that, in an age almost entirely ignorant of the art of navigation, vessels setting sail from Ezion-geber should quit the coasts, double the Cape of Good Hope, pass and repass the line, and visit savage and uncultivated countries, only for what might have been had near home, free from all these inconveniences, and almost without expence or danger.

None of our readers will think three years too long a time to be spent in the voyage we have been explaining, if he reflects that they sailed within sight of the shore, or very near it; that the passage is difficult; that at Sofala they conducted their vessels up a river full of rocks; and that they were obliged to cut down and shape the timber which they carried away.

If an objection shall be raised that Jonas, with an intent to go to Tharsis, embarked at Joppa, now Jaffa, a port in the Mediterranean, and that, admitting our conjecture, he must have sailed round Africa, it is hoped we may be allowed to answer, that there might

have been another Tharfis; or that, supposing it the country we have endeavoured to prove it, he might have taken shipping at Joppa, with a design of going to some other place less distant from the Red-Sea. After all, as conjecture in these matters is the utmost we can arrive at, I thought these guesses which I have laid before the reader had as fair an appearance of truth as those reasonings which other writers have used, and continue to use, every day.

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# DISSERTATION VII.

ON THE

QUEEN OF SHEBA.

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**T**O point out the places meant by the names of Ophir and Tharfis, is not more difficult than exactly to determine the residence of the *Queen of the South*, so famous for the visit which she paid to Solomon, and for the encomium which she has received from the Redeemer of the world. We have already, from the writings of father Dos-Santos, seen, that the wild and uncivilized nations of Africa, who are entirely unacquainted with the controversies which divide the learned world into parties, are persuaded that this celebrated princess reigned amongst them, and show to this day the ruins of her palace; and their opinion is supported by those who have travelled into Abyssinia.

Yet however firmly this notion may be established in Africa, the most learned interpreters have almost universally agreed to place her in that part of Arabia-the-Happy, known now by the name of *Yemen*; and as her name is not any where mentioned in the holy writings, and Jesus Christ only says, that *the Queen of the South shall rise up in judgment*, every one is at liberty to indulge

dulge his own conjectures, and to assign her a name and place of abode.

Father Nicholas Godigno tells us, that she is called *Nicanta*, *Nitocris*, *Nicaula*, and *Makeda*, omitting another name, *Belkis*, which the Abyssins give her, who affirm that she was the daughter of Hod-Had king of the Homerites. She is likewise conformably to the scriptures called *Nagista Azeb*, that is, Queen of the South, by the Abyssinians, who agree with the Arabs in asserting that she was the wife of Solomon. Some of the interpreters who favour that opinion, imagine, that Solomon, who had espoused the women of Egypt and Midian, would not have refused to marry this princess, who came so far without any other motive than the reputation of his wisdom: and indeed a king who had already so many wives and concubines needed not to have made any difficulty of that matter. It is pretended farther, that she returned into her own country big with child; that she brought a son there, whom she bred up until he was of age capable to receive advantage from the lessons of masters and the instructions of Solomon; and then sent him to Jerusalem to be educated near his father.

At Jerusalem, as the tradition continues to inform us, he passed several years, and was anointed and consecrated in the temple, taking the name of *David* in memory of his grandfather, from whence he afterwards returned; and ascending the throne, established the religion of Judæa, in his native country, which gave the original to that great number of Jewish ceremonies which are still preserved among the Abyssins. This nation seems to have a particular interest in maintaining that the Queen of Sheba was of their country; for they affirm that their kings are descendants in a right  
line

line from her and Solomon: which hath been so exactly related by the patriarch Alphonso Mendez, that I shall set down his account of it almost in his own words.

“ The history of the country (says he) and a general  
 “ tradition informs us, that many ages ago the Abyf-  
 “ fins had a queen endowed with all the qualities of  
 “ the greatest men. They call her *Magueda*, other-  
 “ wise *Nicaula*; she is the same who from the desire  
 “ she had of knowing Solomon, of whom she had  
 “ heard so many wonders, went to see him in the 20th  
 “ year of her reign, in the year 2979 from the crea-  
 “ tion of the world. She carried him many presents,  
 “ and was delivered in her way home of a son which  
 “ she had by him, whom she called *Menelech*, that is,  
 “ *another self*. This son, after having educated him  
 “ herself for some years, she sent to Solomon to be  
 “ farther instructed, by whom he was taken care  
 “ of; and, being consecrated in the temple, took at  
 “ his consecration the name of *David* in memory of  
 “ his grandfather. He was soon after sent back to the  
 “ queen, attended by many doctors of the law of Mo-  
 “ ses, and great men of Solomon’s court, the chief of  
 “ whom was Azarias the son of Zadoc the high-priest,  
 “ who stole and carried with him the ark and one of  
 “ the tables of the law, which are still preserv’d in  
 “ the church of Axuma, the chief of the Abyssinian  
 “ churches. It is not my design (continues the father)  
 “ to defend all these fictions; and in particular I am  
 “ ready to give up what they relate concerning the ark  
 “ and the table of the law: But as, though we reject  
 “ the fables that obscure the beginning of the Roman  
 “ history, though we cannot imagine that Romulus  
 “ was the son of Mars and Rhea Silvia, or that he was  
 “ suckled and fed by a wolf; we believe nevertheless  
 “ that

“ that he was the founder of Rome ; so though many  
 “ fables may be detected in the traditions of the Abyf-  
 “ fins, it will not be reasonable to conclude that there  
 “ is nothing true in their history ; that the Queen of  
 “ Sheba did not reign in Ethiopia ; or that she never  
 “ had a fon by Solomon : Yet this is what the learned  
 “ Pineda maintains ; which obliges me, notwithstand-  
 “ ing the esteem which I have for his person, and the  
 “ friendship between us, to enter into a controverfy  
 “ with him upon this subject ; since I do not fee why  
 “ we may not discover in this journey of the Queen of  
 “ Sheba, and in her being with child by her marriage  
 “ with Solomon, the fame myftery which the fathers  
 “ have obferved in what paffed between David and  
 “ Bathsheba and the birth of Solomon.

“ All the objections started by Pineda amount to no  
 “ more than thefe : That ſhe is called the *Queen of*  
 “ *Sheba*, or *Saba* ; that ſhe was invited thither by the  
 “ fame of Solomon ; that her retinue was more agree-  
 “ able to an Arabian than an Ethiopic princefs ; that  
 “ ſhe had a great number of camels ; that ſhe brought  
 “ ſpices, gold, and precious ſtones ; that her kingdom  
 “ is called the *kingdom of the South* ; that ſhe came  
 “ from the fartheſt parts of the earth ; that ſhe came  
 “ from Arabia, not from Abyſſinia.

“ The name of *Saba* hath a meaning as undeter-  
 “ mined as that of Ethiopia, and may as well ſigni-  
 “ fy Abyſſinia as Arabia, ſince it is evident that Iſaiah  
 “ by that appellation has ſpoken of the Ethiopia that  
 “ lies above Egypt, in Chap. xliii. ver. 3. and xlv.  
 “ ver 14.”

“ Whoever will conſult the texts here cited, will  
 “ find that the patriarch’s warmth has made him lay  
 “ hold on every thing which he imagined would be of  
 “ any uſe in the preſent exigency, and that there is  
 “ nothing

“ nothing in those texts determines the word to a particular country.

“ If Solomon’s fleets (continues the patriarch) have given him so great a reputation, and made his name famous in so many places, let a reason be given why they might not as easily have sailed to Abyffinia as to Arabia, since there hath always been a great intercourse and affinity between the two nations, which are only separated by a strait which may without difficulty be crossed in one day.

“ The grandees of Abyffinia travel with a larger train than the nobles of any other country ; and the number of camels bred there is so great, that in the kingdom of Doara, we have been sometimes stopped for a whole half day by the vast caravans of camels which came for salt. There is likewise incense in Abyffinia, though not in so great quantities as in Arabia; there is excellent myrrh and abundance of musk and civet.

“ As to gold, Ethiopia has an undoubted claim to the greatest plenty of that precious metal, which is found along the banks of the Cuama and Sofola, in richer veins than in other parts of the world. If the relations of Pliny and some historians deserve any credit, the most valuable stones were brought formerly from the same land. If we regard the situation of the country, which falls next under consideration, Ethiopia lies more to the south with respect to Jerusalem than Arabia; Idumca, it is true, is in the south, but all the rest of Arabia lies eastward : nor can any sufficient reason be assigned why the scripture, after having said that the Magi who came to worship Jesus Christ departed from the east, should call the Queen of Sheba *Queen of the South*,  
“ if

“ if she came from the same place : Since therefore she  
 “ is called the Queen of the South, it is apparent that  
 “ she was not the queen of the Homerites or Sabæans,  
 “ who, though their country extended to the Indian  
 “ Sea, were not so remote from Judæa as the Ethio-  
 “ pians, whose empire terminated at the farthest parts  
 “ of Africa; which is the reason why Isaiah, speaking  
 “ of those nations which live beyond the rivers of E-  
 “ thiopia, calls them a nation beyond which no other  
 “ is to be found.

“ Notwithstanding it be true that no woman can  
 “ now reign in Abyssinia, it will not follow that the  
 “ same custom was then observed ; and we are assured  
 “ by the missionaries, that the women, though not for-  
 “ mally invested with the regal authority, too often  
 “ obtain the power.”

The patriarch having thus answered the objections  
 of Pineda, confesses that the Abyssins are so bigotted  
 to the notion that the Queen of Sheba lived and reign-  
 ed amongst them, that, supposing their opinion ground-  
 less, it would be dangerous to undeceive them ; for the  
 title of *King of Israel*, which their Emperors assume, is  
 founded upon this persuasion. He continues to inform  
 us, though erroneously, that the crown always descends  
 to the first-born ; so that regal power is delivered down  
 from father to son in a right line : and farther to con-  
 firm his sentiment, mentions two villages near Axuma,  
 one called *Adega David*, that is, the House of David,  
 the other *Azebo*, which in the Arabic language signi-  
 fies the South, in memory of Nagista Azeb, the *Queen*  
*of the South*, its ancient inhabitant ; the ruins of these  
 houses evidently show that they were built in the most  
 remote ages.

He adds, that the Abyssins still continue to retain  
 several

several names, customs, and ceremonies, which they received from the Jews : They have fingers or debferas, whom they affirm to be descendants from the scribes, and those who kept the tabernacle; and their judges or umbares boast loudly of their Jewish original. He omits circumcision, the observation of the sabbath, the distinction of meats, the veil of the temple, the purification of women, and innumerable other practises, anciently in use among the Jews, and now held sacred by the Abyssins.

Although all the arguments produced by the patriarch in favour of his assertion have their weight, yet they are not all equally cogent; and the authority of Pliny will never persuade those who are acquainted with the country, that such numbers of precious stones were ever found in it. Spices, though the soil doth produce some, are there in small quantities.

The Jewish customs still preserved there, only prove what none will deny, that there has been a frequent intercourse between the Jews and them; which is yet more probable, if it be supposed, which nobody can doubt, that the Abyssins were originally a colony from Arabia.

We read in Agatharcidas and other writers quoted by the learned Bochart, that one part of the Sabæans applied themselves to agriculture and the other to commerce; and that they transported their spices and other fruits of their country into Ethiopia on vessels of leather, and brought back other merchandises in exchange. These ships of leather are without controversy the gelves of which we have so compleat a description in the former account.

The patriarch has forgot one circumstance of more strength to support his opinion than all that hath been said.

said. The kings of the Sabæans were so confined, that, after their investiture with the regal dignities, they were not suffered to go out of their palace on pain of being stoned. A nation which would not allow their king to come out of his own palace, was not likely to have given their queen the liberty of visiting Solomon at so great a distance, unless the law were made since that time, which enjoins so strict a confinement; so that if it was in force in the days of Solomon, the queen more probably came from Abyssiniâ than Arabia. Josephus himself seems to be of that opinion; whose relation has been examined with great severity by the learned Bochart, and who is accused by him in plain terms of imposing upon his readers, and having given an account of the affairs transacted out of his own country with less fidelity than those of the Jews. He has, according to this critic, mistaken the meaning of Herodotus, on whose testimony he depends; and Mr Bochart observes, that though the Egyptians reckon 18 Ethiopians among their kings, the only queen recorded to have reigned among them was an Egyptian named *Nitocris*, not *Nicaula*; nor was Meroe ever known by the name of *Saba*, having received its appellation from the mother of Cambyfes its founder. The ruins shown in Abyssinia prove nothing, since the Arabs show ruins of the palace of Sheba in their country with equal confidence; nor would it be less dangerous in Arabia to affirm that Sheba was Abyssinia, than in Abyssinia to maintain that it was Arabia.

Bochartus, in short, proves by solid and weighty arguments, that Josephus was mistaken in making the Queen of the South Queen of Abyssinia or Ethiopia above Egypt; and to confirm his reasonings, we may add, that in the tenth chapter of the first book of Kings



she is called *Queen of Sheba*; and has no where any other name or title: and in the 6th of Job, Sheba certainly signifies Arabia. A great number of the fathers and interpreters decide in favour of Arabia, and are supported by Philostorgus and the Nubian geographer, who place the city of Sheba in Arabia, and affirm that Belkis, the wife of Solomon, came from thence.

These opinions, so contrary in appearance, may be made consistent without great difficulty; since it is agreed that these nations have borne the same name, been included in one empire, and governed by one prince. Their original is the same, the Abyssins having transplanted themselves from the land of Chus or the Sabæans. Mr d'Herbelot says in his *Bibliothèque Orientale*, that Ibrahim al Ayschram was governor of Yemen, under the emperor of the Abyssins in the time of Abdel Mothleb grandfather of Mahomet. The punishment of this prince, who brought an army with a great number of elephants to the siege of Mecca, is related in the 105th chapter of the Alcoran, called the *Chapter of the Elephant*. There came, say the Arabs, a cloud of birds with the rage of thunder upon the army; each of which had a stone in his beak, which he dropped with such violence upon the elephants that they were pierced through; nor did the vengeance end here, but pursued the emperor into his own dominions, where one of these fowls let his stone fall upon his head and killed him.

In the time of the Emperor Justin, Elefbas, or Caleb, was invited by letters from the Alexandrian patriarch to carry his arms into Arabia, in defence of those Christians who had been put to death in great numbers with the most exquisite tortures by Dunacras

a Jewish prince. Eleſbas embraced the occaſion, and was favoured by God with an entire victory, which gave the Abyſſins the poſſeſſion of Arabia; whoſe authority continued there till in the year 578 they were conſtrained, as has been before related, to raiſe the ſiege of Mecca.

What has been ſaid ſeems ſufficient to make appear the intercourse which has formerly ſubſiſted between the Ethiopians of Aſia and Africk; and to prove that they were anciently under the ſame maſter.

DISSER.

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## DISSERTATION VIII.

U P O N

### C I R C U M C I S I O N.

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**I**T hath appeared in the foregoing dissertation, that the Abyssins firmly adhere to a tradition long received among them, that Menelech, whom they regard as their first king, was the son of Solomon; who having been educated under the care of his father, did, upon his return to his own kingdom, introduce the religion of the Jews among his countrymen.

Some nevertheless maintain that this religion was long before received in Ethiopia, and affirm, that Moses, when he fled out of Egypt, retreated to the Ethiopians, and was their first lawgiver. This is certain, that whether they received this institution from Menelech the son of Solomon, or from Moses, or whether they learned circumcision from some descendant of Abraham, when they changed their place of habitation and went out of Asia into Africk, their firm persuasion is, that they received this practice from the Jews.

Mr Ludolf, who never finds any thing blameable among the Abyssins, except what they hold in common with the catholic church, endeavours to insinuate,

that there is no necessity of imagining that this nation borrowed the rite of circumcision from the Jews, since there is no possibility of discovering its original. These are his words in the 3d book of his Ethiopic History. “ Qui  
 “ traditionem Habessinorum de regina Maqueda ad-  
 “ mittunt, ii fere sunt qui putant eos cognitionem veri  
 “ Dei à tempore Solomonis habuisse; ritusque Judai-  
 “ cos, veluti circumcisionem, abstinentiam a cibis lege  
 “ Mosaica vetitis, observationem Sabbati, conjugium  
 “ leviri cum gloire, et similia, originem suam inde trax-  
 “ isse. Verum cum isti vel cum aliis gentibus, vel  
 “ cum Christianis primitivæ ecclesiæ; qui sese Judæis  
 “ accomodabant ut infra fusius dicetur, communia ha-  
 “ beant, haud firmiter affirmaveris, vestigia hæc esse  
 “ rituum a tot sæculis ex ipsa Judæa acceptorum.  
 “ Nam circumcisionem non Judæi tantum, sed etiam  
 “ aliæ gentes, et olim usurparunt, et etiamnum usurpant,  
 “ sine scientia originis, aut cultus alicujus sacri cogi-  
 “ tatione. Ægyptios illam primitus instituisse, vel ab  
 “ Æthiopibus didicisse: dehinc ad alias gentes, Col-  
 “ chos, Phœnices, Syros manasse vetustissimi historico-  
 “ rum ignoratione veræ originis tradiderunt. Alnajab  
 “ gens Æthiopum cultris lapideis circumcisionem per-  
 “ agit. Homeritas, ex quibus nostri Habessini ori-  
 “ undi, inter alios expresse nominat Epiphanius. Ut  
 “ taceamus Troglodytas, Nigritas, aliasque innumeras  
 “ gentes, quæ vel causam ejus ignorant, vel mundi-  
 “ tiem prætexunt, vel circumcisionem generationi uti-  
 “ lem esse fingunt, &c.” And some lines afterwards:  
 “ Ad hæc permagna est inter Judæorum et aliarum  
 “ gentium circumcisionem differentia. Hæ enim geni-  
 “ talia tantum circumcidunt: illi vero pelliculam e-  
 “ tiam unguibus lacerant, ut glans plane detegatur,  
 “ decidat.

“decidua utrumque præputio.” And then concludes:  
 “Ex isto solo intelligitur Habessinios eandem cum Ju-  
 “dæis circumcisionem non usurpare: neque ulla ali-  
 “qua insigni ceremonia aut commemoratione finis cu-  
 “jusdam notabilis peragitur, quidquid etiam incom-  
 “tus ille Tzagazaabus ineptiat; patratum enim priva-  
 “tim a muliercula quadam, remotis arbitris: idque ne  
 “vir quidem spectare voluerit. Quod vero octavum  
 “diem observent, id potissimam suspicionem Judaismi  
 “auxit. Sed omnem dubitationem tollit Claudii Æ-  
 “thiopiæ regis confessio, qui, suspicionem Judaismi de  
 “se suisque amoliturus sic ait: Quod vero attinet ad  
 “morem circumcisionis, non utique circumcidimur si-  
 “cut Judæi, quia (nos) scimus verba doctrinæ Pauli  
 “fontis sapientiæ, qui dicit: Et circumcidi non pro-  
 “dest, et non circumcidi non juvat; sed potius nova  
 “creatio quæ est fides in domino nostro Jesu Christo.  
 “Et iterum dicit ad Corinthios: Qui assumpsit cir-  
 “cumcisionem, non accipiat præputium. Omnes li-  
 “bri doctrinæ Paulinæ sunt apud nos, et docent nos  
 “de circumcisione, et de præputio. Verum circumci-  
 “sio nostra secundum consuetudinem regionis fit, sicut  
 “incisio faciei in Æthiopia et Nubia, et sicut perfora-  
 “tio auris apud Indos. Id autem, quod facimus, non  
 “facimus ad observandas leges Mosaicas, sed propter  
 “morem humanum.”

It was thought proper to give the reader the whole  
 of what Mr Ludolf says concerning circumcision at one  
 view. He adds, in the Commentaries on his History,  
 that he hath shown the difference between the circum-  
 cision of the Jews and that of the Abyssins; and so  
 clearly demonstrated, that the Abyssins have not recei-  
 ved circumcision from the Jews, and that it hath been  
 practised for many ages among other nations, that there

is no necessity of producing any new arguments to confirm his opinion. “ Clarius est quam ut nulla probatione egeat. Dum hæc scribo, incidi in quæstionem inter quosdam viros doctos agitatam, Num circumcisio apud Judæos an apud Ægyptios primum cœperit; vel utra gens eam ab altera didicerit? Qui prius asserunt, pro se habent textum scripturæ—qui posterius, nituntur testimoniis profanorum autorum—imprimis Herodoti.” *Commen.* p. 269.

He tells us, that in writing on this subject, he has fallen upon a point much controverted among men of learning, who are in doubt whether circumcision was first practised among the Egyptians or the Jews, and which of those two nations received it from the other. Those who attribute to the Jews the original of this ceremony have the authority of scripture on their side; and those who espouse the part of the Egyptians are supported by the credit of Herodotus, and other profane writers.

See here Moses on one side and Herodotus on the other! See here the sacred writings, the inspirations of the Almighty, thrown into the balance against the fables of heathen history! See here their authority supposed of equal weight, and their testimonies cited with equal confidence! All that Mr Ludolf finds to object to the relation of Herodotus is, that he has not determined the precise time of the fact; so that the matter is to remain undecided till mankind is come to an agreement about the Egyptian computation. “ Quia Herodotus nullum tempus determinat, vana sunt cætera argumenta.” A little more positiveness had turned the scale in favour of Herodotus.

Grotius, that name so justly celebrated, was sufficiently apprised how much this way of reasoning turned

ed to the advantage of infidelity, and therefore opposed it with all the power of his learning; and was so successful in this laudable attempt, that he has made plain from a multitude of different authors, what religion teaches us to believe, that God in commanding Abraham to use the rite of circumcision, meant it a mark of covenant between his posterity and the Creator, and that every other nation that hath practised circumcision learned it from him or his descendants.

Mr Ludolf, who has told us all he knew on this point, has been in care to overlook this testimony of Grotius, which entirely overthrows the reasonings of Marſham and his followers. To answer Grotius, it is necessary to prove that some nation was circumcised before Abraham; to find some author either contemporary with Moses, or of equal authority; and when he is found, it will be proper to examine whether such a testimony deserves more regard than the tradition which is still preserved among the Abyſſins, that they practise circumcision in memory of their king Menelech the son of Solomon.

It is true, that in the confession of faith given by the emperor Claudius, otherwise Asnaf Segued, it is said that their circumcision is of a nature different from that of the Jews, and that it is continued amongst them, not because it is directed by the law of Moses, but in compliance with an ancient custom. To which may be added the declaration of Eben-Aſſal. Circumcision (says he) is still retained among the Cophtes and Abyſſins, not as a rite directed by heaven, but only as a custom. The law anciently directed that it should be done on the eighth day, and circumcision performed at any other time was reckoned invalid; which is the reason

that those who have received the new law, and yet are circumcised, do not do it on the eighth day ; and are of opinion that it is not allowed to make use of that day to this purpose. Circumcision is, upon the whole, a thing which may either be done or omitted among us; so that they who continue to use it, do it not as a thing imposed by law. Tecla Mariam says nearly the same thing in his answer to the questions put to him by the cardinals.

Circumcision gave room in the infancy of the church to a great number of disputes ; but the decision of the first council of Jerusalem is well known. It is well known likewise that there was a controversy on this account between St Peter and St Paul ; and that St Paul made no scruple of circumcising Timothy his disciple, after he had declared that it was lawful to circumcise or not to circumcise. The first bishops of Jerusalem continued to be circumcised ; but when it was observed, that the Jews made so bad an use of this complaisance toward them, that they insisted on circumcision as an essential rite, great endeavours were used to undeceive them, as appears from Justin Martyr's dialogue with Tryphon ; in which having owned that he thought a Jew converted to Christianity, and living agreeably to its precepts, though he should still retain his veneration for the law of Moses, in a state of salvation, provided he did not oblige others to follow his example ; he says, that no communion ought to be allowed with those who, while they make profession of the religion of Jesus, compel all those Gentiles who have embraced the same faith to follow the law of Moses.

This testimony of Justin Martyr plainly shows the conduct of the primitive church towards the Jews ; but  
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When the Jews contended for circumcision as a necessary institution, it was entirely laid aside.

The bishops who from the time of the apostles governed the church of Alexandria never were circumcised; so that Frumentius, who was sent by St Athanasius to preach the Christian faith in Abyssinia, was certainly uncircumcised. Nor is there any probability that, when he converted them, he permitted them to retain the use of circumcision, which was practised amongst the Christians of Egypt. Ibn Affal says justly, that the Cophes and Abyssins were circumcised, but makes no mention of the other Christians in Egypt; which makes it thought that the Cophes, having, by the favour of the Turks, continued masters of the church of Alexandria, might receive the custom of circumcision in complaisance to their protectors; that at first every one was at liberty to use it, and afterwards every one was obliged.

About the year 836, James the 50th patriarch of Alexandria consecrated John metropolitan of Ethiopia, and sent him into that empire, where he had the charge of the church, which he held for some time, till a knot of the nobility caballed against him; and having brought others over to their party, drove him out of the country. About the same time Ethiopia groaned under the complicated miseries of war, pestilence, and famine; their armies were routed and put to flight whenever they came in sight of the enemy. The Abyssins were easily persuaded that the violence and indignities offered to their metropolitan had brought these evils upon them, and therefore recalled and re-established him. But the Queen, whose malice was not yet satisfied, raised new persecutions against the Abuna, and left him only the choice of being circumcised, or leaving the kingdom. John chose to undergo

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circumcision; and being stripped, had upon him, by a singular miracle, say the Cophtes and Abyssins, evident tokens that he had been circumcised on the eighth day.

Two patriarchs of Alexandria, Mark the son of Zaza, and John the son of Abagaleb, who presided over that church at the end of the 12th and the beginning of the 13th centuries, would have established an opinion that circumcision was absolutely necessary to salvation, and published many writings in defence of their sentiments; which were answered by Mark the son of Elcumbar; who proved that circumcision was one of those superstitions which ought to be laid aside. It was at length determined, after a long and warm dispute, that circumcision was a thing indifferent, and left to every man's choice; but that those who continued the practice should perform it without ceremony, and never in the church; and that none after having received baptism should be circumcised. It is observed by Alvarez, that the Abyssins in his time conformed to that decree, circumcision being a thing of choice, and practised without formality, though they alleged that it was commanded by God.

He relates one account which, if it were true, would be no less wonderful than what hath been already related of John the Abuna. A priest affirmed to him, that not having been suffered by his father, who was a Frank, to be circumcised, he had lain down one night after his father's death, with a strong desire of doing now what had been so long forbidden him; and when he rose in the morning found the marks of circumcision upon him; which, said he, is a plain indication that the practice is approved by God, who otherwise would not have wrought a miracle to countenance it. He was answered by Alvarez, that he must have no  
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mean opinion of himself, to imagine that God wrought a special miracle to bring him from an imperfect condition to a state of perfection ; and that there was reason to fear that it was rather an illusion of the devil than a miracle of God.

It appears from all these stories how much the Abyssins are prejudiced in favour of circumcision ; and although by the constitutions of their church every one is at liberty, yet there are times in which they enforce the practice of it upon others, as is clear from the excommunication issued out against them on the 12th of February 1559, by Andrew Oviedo then bishop of Hierapolis, and coadjutor to the patriarch John Nugnez Barretto. This excommunication imports, among other things, that the Abyssins refuse to submit themselves to the pope, and to acknowledge the power of the Roman see ; that they observe the Sabbath, which is lately crept in amongst them ; that they practise circumcision, and make their slaves and those who are converted to Christianity be circumcised, often making violence where they cannot obtain a compliance ; that they esteem it a sin to eat swines flesh ; that they hold the man criminal, who, having conversed with his wife, shall enter a church the same day. It is not probable that this father would have excommunicated the Abyssins had not these faults been certainly proved upon them.

The patriarch Alphonso Mendez confirms the foregoing account ; and adds, that the Abyssins, in excuse of their zeal for circumcision, affirm, that they do not practise it in obedience to the law of Moses, but for the same reason that they cut their hair and nails, for the sake of cleanliness ; St Paul having shown by circum-  
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cising his disciple Timothy, that it was nothing criminal or forbidden. They nevertheless look on uncircumcision as a mark of infamy; nor do they think any term of reproach more severe than *cofa*, that is, *uncircumcised*. Such a man they will not allow to eat with them, but break all the cups which he had made use of, and call in the priests with their ritual to purify the vessels which he has polluted by eating or drinking in them.

What still more evidently shows their zealous adherence to this rite is, that after they had driven the Jesuits, and with them the Catholic religion, out of Ethiopia, a decree was issued out, commanding all the young people, who during the confusion of religious affairs had not been circumcised, to conform immediately to the ancient custom; and if a rude soldier met with any that had not the marks of circumcision upon him, he gave him a stroke upon the part with his lance to serve him instead of it.

But however rigidly the Abyssinians may retain circumcision, they are still more zealous in observing the Sabbath; though perhaps this practice is not more ancient than the former; for their present rigorous exactness was not in use till the time of the Emperor Zara Jacob. There is in the monastery of Byzen a monument of one Abba Philip, whom the Abyssinians reverence as a saint, observing his festival yearly in July. The most important and celebrated action of his life was, that once when the Emperor of Abyssinia would have obliged his subjects to work on Saturday, he represented to him that God had commanded that day to be kept holy, in such strong and moving terms, that the edict was revoked.

Mr Ludolf, however, endeavouring every where to

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apologize for the Abyssins, produces an excuse for them here from the Emperor Asuaf Segued's declaration or profession of faith; where it is alleged that they do not sanctify the Sabbath after the way of the Jews, and that they observe Sunday in a manner very different. The Abba Gregory assured him that on Saturday they only refrained from more laborious employments.

“ Quod vero attinet ad celebrationem nostram, prisci Sabbati diei; non sane celebramus illud sicut Judæi; quic crucifixerunt Christum, dicentes, ‘Sanguis ejus super nos et super liberos nostros.’ Quia illi Judæi neque hauriunt aquam, neque accendunt ignem, neque coquunt ferculum, neque pinfunt panem, neque migrant de domo, in domum. Nos autem ita celebramus illud, ut administremus in eo sacram cœnam et exhibeamus in eo Agapas (id est convivium charitatis pauperibus vel viduis dari solita) sicut præceperunt nobis patres nostri apostoli in Didascalia. Non celebramus illud ita Sabbatum, i. e. feriæ primæ, quæ dies est nova, de qua David ait, ‘Hæc est dies quam fecit Dominus, exultemus et lætemur in ea:’ quia in ea resurrexit Dominus noster Jesus Christus, et in ea descendit Spiritus sanctus super apostolos in Cænaculo Sionis, et in ea veniet iterum ad remunerationem justorum et ultionem peccatorum.”

We cannot but make two remarks; that Mr Ludolf affects to translate by *Sacra Cæna* what we call the sacrifice of the altar; and that he uses the word *agape* for those charities distributed to the poor in those great communions where meat and drink are given: Nor can we omit observing, that the emperor makes use

use of an extraordinary way of reasoning, to prove that they do not sanctify the Saturday, when he affirms that they celebrate mass and distribute alms on that day, as if that was not sanctifying it.

Mr Ludolf cannot but know, that when in the time of Sultan Segued, an insurrection in the kingdom of Damot was suppressed by Raffela Christos, one of the severest punishments inflicted by him on the rebellious people was, that he obliged them to labour on a Saturday : Nor is he ignorant that in the collection of canons revered by the Abyssins in the same degree with the gospel, the observation of the Sabbath is forbidden, and that the twenty-ninth canon of the council of Laodicea directs to work on Saturday.

The Abyssins eat no kind of flesh forbidden by the law ; and one of the means used to inspire into the people an implacable hatred of the missionaries, was to tell them that the fathers did eat swines and hares flesh, and mingled it with the consecrated wafers. In vain it is urged against them that the use of these meats is indifferent ; that the Banians eat nothing that hath life ; and that the Tartars eat the flesh of camels and horses conformably to a custom long established in their country ; that to eat horses and camels is not forbidden by any precept of religion ; and that the Banians do not profess Christianity.

The Jewish rites are in many other instances observed by the Abyssins ; one brother takes the wife of another ; the men do not enter a church the day after they have conversed with their wives ; nor do the women come to the divine worship after child-birth till the days of their purification are over ; which for a

girl are 24. They fast thrice in February in commemoration of the penitence of the Ninevites : Their manner of chaunting the psalms has a great conformity with that of the Jews : And indeed in so many things do they agree, that it would not be easy to determine whether the Abyssins are more Jews or Christians.



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# DISSERTATION IX,

## ON THE

### CONVERSION OF THE ABYSSINS,

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**A**FTER the ascension of our Saviour Jesus Christ into heaven, his apostles divided themselves, and went to carry the light of his gospel into various countries : St Bartholomew preached to the Arabs ; St Thomas travelled into Parthia ; and St Matthew applied himself to the conversion of the Nubians, where he found his work facilitated, and the nation disposed for the reception of Christianity, by Philip the eunuch of Queen Candace, who had already sown the first seeds of religion, which St Matthew cultivated and raised to fruit ; He did not, however, travel far up into the country, the conversion of the Abyssins being reserved for the age of St Athanasius patriarch of Alexandria ; which great event is thus related by Rufinus.

Meropius the philosopher, a native of Tigre, took a resolution to travel, either that he might enjoy the conversation of other philosophers, or for the sake of traffic, which was not thought inconsistent with the profession of philosophy ; the Abyssins themselves give him



no higher title than that of merchant. This man, after having wandered over all India, determined at length to return home with two young men, his kinsmen, and the companions of his travels; and touching at an island in the Red-Sea, the rude inhabitants, unaccustomed to the sight of strangers, fell upon him and cut him in pieces. This story is told by the Abyssins in a different manner, that Meropius fell sick and died upon this island, and that the people seized on Frumentius and Edesius his companions, that they might present them to the king, who gave them a kind reception, placed them near his person, and advanced them. Finding in Frumentius a greater capacity, he made him his treasurer, and Edesius his butler: in which post each behaved himself with so great applause, that some time after when the king died and left his son under the guardianship of the queen, she would not grant either of them the permission they desired of leaving the kingdom, but left the management of public affairs entirely to Frumentius; who made use of this new authority to bring the people under his inspection to the knowledge of Jesus Christ. Then he informed himself whether there were not some Christian merchants in Abyssinia, and whether some did not come to that island; and finding that they did, he contracted a nearer acquaintance with them, granting them great privileges, and places to assemble in a public manner; and soon after accustomed the Abyssins to our ceremonies, and excited in them a great desire of being instructed in our mysteries; and in short prepared them so well to receive the gospel, that nothing but labourers were wanting to complete what he had happily begun.

Neither distance of place, nor length of time, nor  
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the honours to which they had been raised, could efface in Frumentius and Edefius the love which every one so naturally feels for his native country; so when the young king was of age to take the government into his own hands, they implored and obtained leave to visit their kindred. Edefius went to Tyre, and Frumentius to Alexandria, where he found St Athanasius newly made bishop of that great city; and applying himself to him, gave him an account of his voyages, and told him with how little difficulty all Abyssinia might be brought over to Christianity.

We need only recollect the warmth of zeal with which St Athanasius defended the divinity of Jesus Christ, to apprehend how great was his transport at meeting with an opportunity to extend the Christian name. He spent no time in deliberating whom he should delegate to this important charge, but consecrated Frumentius bishop, and sent him into Abyssinia; where the progress he made surpassed the utmost hopes which had been formed either by himself or St Athanasius. Never did any nation embrace Christianity with greater ardour, or defend it with more courage than the Abyssins. Their bishop had gained their affections; and as they were prepossessed in his favour, they were easily persuaded that the religion which he came to preach was the only true one.

Constantius the emperor, a great enemy to substantiality, who looked on the defenders of it as innovators and corrupters of the Christian religion, made use of many expedients to introduce Arianism into Ethiopia, by sending ambassadors, and writing to the kings Abra and Asba, to prevail upon them that Frumentius the bishop of Axuma might be put into the hands of George, lately made patriarch of Alexandria  
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by the Arians, in the place of Athanasius, whom they had forced to quit the see, and retire to a place of obscurity. The letter is preserved down to us by Athanasius himself, in his apology addressed to Constantius.

All these endeavours were ineffectual; the Abyssins continued to hold the faith uncorrupted. And though Philostorgus erroneously affirms, that an Arian bishop was hearkened to at Axuma, and established his notions there, they refused to deliver up Frumentius, and adhered to his doctrine and person with the same unshaken resolution. Such was the care of the holy bishop, that no schism or heresy raised its head, or disturbed the peace of his church; and so mild and amiable was his conduct, that the nation, which was charmed with it, gave him, according to their custom, a new name, *Abba Salama*, the pacific father.

As the church of Abyssinia acknowledges the church of Alexandria as its mother, it is subject to it in a particular manner, not having the liberty enjoyed by other churches of electing her own bishop. This subjection is as ancient as their conversion to Christianity, and confirmed by that book of canons which the Abyssins hold in equal esteem with the sacred writings.

This canon is the 36th of Turrien's Collection, and the 42d of the Version of Abraham Ecchellenfis. I give it as it appears in each of those books, without intending to write a formal criticism upon that collection, thought by some learned men to be nothing more than a bad translation of the Codex Canonum Universalis, to which the translator has made what additions he pleased.

“ Ut non possint Ethiopes creare nec eligere patri-  
 “ archam, quin potius eorum praelatis sub potestate

“ ejus sit qui tenet sedem Alexandriae, sit tamen apud  
 “ eos loco patriarchae et appelletur Catholicus. Non  
 “ tamen jus habeat constituendi archiepiscopos, ut ha-  
 “ bet patriarcha; siquidem non habet patriarchae ho-  
 “ norem et potestatem. Quod si acciderit ut conci-  
 “ lium in Graecia habeatur, fueritque praesens hic pre-  
 “ latus Ethiopum habeat septimum locum post pra-  
 “ latum Seleucia; et quando facta fuerit ei potestas  
 “ constituendi Archiepiscopos in provincia sua, non  
 “ licebit illi constituere aliquem ex illis.” We do not  
 understand the last words, “ non licebit illi constituere  
 “ aliquem ex illis.”

This canon is thus translated by Abraham Ecchellen-  
 sis: “ Ne patriarcham sibi constituent Ethiopes ex suis  
 “ doctoribus, neque propria electione, quia patriarcha  
 “ ipforum est constitutus sub Alexandrini potestate,  
 “ cujus est ipsis ordinare et praeficere Catholicum, qui  
 “ inferior patriarcha est; cui praefato in patriarcham  
 “ constituto, nomine Catholici, non licebit metropoli-  
 “ tanos constituere, sicut constituunt patriarchae; etc-  
 “ nim honor nominis patriarchatus illi defertur tan-  
 “ tummodo, non vero potestas, porro si acciderit, ut  
 “ congregetur synodus in terra Romanorum, et adfue-  
 “ rit iste, sedeat loco octavo post dominum Seleucia,  
 “ qua est *Almo-Dajoint* nempe *Babilonia Harac*; quo-  
 “ niam isti facta est potestas constituendi episcopos suae  
 “ provinciae, prohibitumque fuit ne ullus eorum ipsum  
 “ constituat.”

Many remarks might be made upon this canon;  
 from which it appears, that the Abyssins have not the  
 power of electing their patriarch; that when they had  
 the power of electing him, they might not pitch upon  
 an Abyssin; that he is so far subordinate to the patri-  
 arch of Alexandria, that none but the patriarch can e-  
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lect and consecrate him: which shows either the insincerity or ignorance of Zago-Zabo, who said the Abyssin religious at Jerusalem chose their patriarch; that though he is honoured with the title of patriarch, he is not invested with the authority, yet he bears the title of Catholic, and has the next seat to the bishop of Seleucia; that catholic-like patriarch is no more than an empty title without the power, since all other bishops so distinguished may constitute archbishops and metropolitans, which the patriarch of Abyssinia cannot do.

As this canon is one of the most important relating to the government of the church of Abyssinia, it might be of use to examine at what time, and on what occasion, it was made. It is not known that the patriarch of Abyssinia ever assisted at any council; so that the rank he had held there could not by any prescription influence this regulation: nor is there any probability that any care was taken about adjusting his rank since his separation from the Catholic church. The Jacobites never convened any council. These canons never appeared in Greek, nor were ever cited by any of the Greek writers; which makes the conjecture probable, that it was made at Alexandria before the Arabs made themselves masters of it, and was afterwards adopted by the church of Antioch. The Abyssins are so bigotted to the church of Alexandria, that they account it a great sin to doubt of the authority of her canons; nor have ever thought of withdrawing their necks from the yoke, how heavy soever they have found it. This is without doubt one of the principal causes of that ignorance which prevails among them; for that part of this celebrated canon which forbids their metropolitan to be a native, has always been exactly observed by

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the Alexandrian patriarchs: so that perhaps no Abuna was ever capable of conversing with his flock; which certainly must much hinder him from forming a judgment of the capacities of those ordained by him. The offices are performed, and the sacraments administered, in the ancient language of the country, which is not now understood, and must be learned as a foreign tongue; nor is the Abuna ordinarily more skilled in this than in the common speech.

Mr Ludolf has erroneously asserted that the Abyssins were always Jacobites, though he doth not deny that they received the faith in the time of Athanasius; a contradiction unpardonable! The names of Jacobite and Eutychian were not then known in the world; and Frumentius, the delegate of Athanasius, could not teach the heresy before the author of it was born. The Abyssins therefore were not Jacobites in the sixth century; nor was the king Caleb or Elesbas of that sect, if we may give any credit to the acts of the martyr St Aretas, which was known to Mr Ludolf, who tells us that the Ethiopian manuscripts agree with the Latin writings.

“ Quis celebris iste rex fuerit nunc demum recte  
 “ cognitum est, postquam Alph. Mendezius patriarcha  
 “ Lusitanus in Ethiopia, relationem suam edidit, ex  
 “ qua B. Tellez sequentia exscripit. Iste rex Elesbas,  
 “ Ethiopibus Calebus dictus, valde sanctus vir fuit, et  
 “ pro tali celebratur ab ecclesia Romana, in cujus mar-  
 “ tyrologio reperitur die 16. Octob. vitam illius descrip-  
 “ sit Simeon Metaphrastes, &c. Eadem historia E-  
 “ thiopicè verbo tenus reddita reperitur in synaxariis  
 “ Ethiopum, que sunt quasi illorum flos sanctorum.”  
 And somewhat lower, “ Alphonfus Mendez supra dic-  
 “ tus, qui hanc historiam cum libris Ethiopum contu-  
 “ lit,

“ lit, referente Tellezio, ait, stupenda est conformitas  
 “ quæ reperitur in libris Latinis et Ethiopicis quos  
 “ contuli exactissima diligentia. Illi enim verbo tenus  
 “ cum nostris conveniunt in verbis, quæ habent furius  
 “ et baronius.” *Ludolf's Comment.* p. 232.

After these incontestable evidences that Elefbas was a Catholic, Mr Ludolf is pleased to make a question of it; and it appears by his decision, that the Roman church has put in the number of her saints a prince who disowned the council of Chalcedon, and anathematized Pope Leo; and that the Jesuits, so firmly attached to the court of Rome, wrote the encomium of an heretical king. Absurdities which will hardly be credited!

But since the patriarch Alphonso Mendez is the original upon which Balthazar Tellez has built his history, let us hear that author's own words: “ Ex hi-  
 “ storia regis Caleb, Facenæ filii, quem nostri Elef-  
 “ baan dicunt, et ad diem 27. Octobris sanctorum ca-  
 “ talogo apponunt indubitatum evadit, novem illos  
 “ Monachos inter septuagesimum vel octogesimum  
 “ quinti sæculi annum in Ethiopiam penetrasse. Nam  
 “ anno quingentesimo vigesimo secundo, qui fuit quin-  
 “ tus Justinii Imperatoris, rex ille piissimus, ipse et  
 “ Asterii patriarchæ Alexandrini hortatu, expeditionem  
 “ em adversus Hunan Judæum Homeritarum Tyran-  
 “ num et sanctorum martyrum Aretæ et Sociorum ter-  
 “ centum et quadraginta interfectorem suscepit; con-  
 “ sulto prius Monacho, qui ante quadraginta et quinque  
 “ annos in vicinam Auxumæ turrim se intulerat, à quo  
 “ totius belli eventum anticipato est edoctus; cujus  
 “ nomen nostri annales silentio supprimunt, sed Ethio-  
 “ picæ et omnium in ea regione linguæ unanimi con-

“sensu et traditione pantaleonem, unum ex illis sanctis novem Monachis, fuisse conspirant.”

The Abyssins received the faith from an apostle truly orthodox, and preserved it in its purity, till the Arabs, getting possession of Alexandria, espoused the party of the Jacobites, who had been engaged in contention for superiority; and now being supported by the power of the conquerors, dispossessed the Melchites of their churches, sent an Abuna of their sect into Ethiopia, and propagated their opinion in the East with little opposition.

It doth not appear that in those calamitous times, or in any other, the Abyssins ever applied to Rome. The letter of Pope Alexander III. cannot be proved to have been written to the king of Ethiopia; and that of the Abba Nicodemus to Pope Eugene IV. carries more evident marks of forgery. Nor can any certain proof be produced of an intercourse between the Popes and the Abyssins.

Francis Alvarez, a Portuguese priest, is the first who has given us any account of this country that can be depended on. He travelled thither in the train of Rodriguez de Lima, the king of Portugal's ambassador, as chaplain to the embassy, and has given an exact relation, which has stood the test of examination; nor have any cavilling objections lessened its reputation. From this account we learn, that the empress Helena, grandmother and governess of the emperor David, finding herself attacked on all sides, implored the assistance of the king of Portugal, and sent on that message an envoy named Matthew, who was received by Don Emanuel with great joy. This prince already reckoning Abyssinia among the kingdoms which he had subjected to the Catholic church, fixed upon Edward



ward Galvan, whose abilities had been tried in many important negotiations, for his ambassador to the emperor of Ethiopia, and fitted out a considerable fleet to transport him thither, of which he entrusted the command to Lopez Alvarez. This fleet set sail, and met with a prosperous passage; but the ambassador, being of a great age, died in the Isle of Camaran. The designs of Don Emanuel were retarded by this unfortunate accident four years; and what was still worse, Rodriguez de Lima, who was named to succeed in the embassy, neither had the wisdom nor the experience of his predecessor, being capricious, insolent, and haughty in the last degree. He arrived at Abyssinia in April 1520.

The ambassador was accompanied by Matthew the Empress's envoy, and a numerous train. Matthew fell sick when he entered Abyssinia, and died in a house belonging to the monastery of Bisan. I do not here relate all that happened remarkable in this embassy, of which Alvarez's ample account may be consulted, but content myself with giving an extract. Don Rodriguez continued in that country six years, not coming away till 1526. He left with the Emperor John Bermudes his physician, who was afterwards patriarch of Ethiopia, and brought away Christopher Licanare, more known by the name of Zagazabo, with the title of ambassador to the king of Portugal, and Francis Alvarez, who was now dignified with the office of ambassador from the Emperor to Pope Clement VII. The fleet which carried all these ambassadors left Goa in the beginning of January 1527, and cast anchor in the Tagus on the 25th of July; but as they were going to land, they received information that the plague raged at Lisbon, and were therefore obliged to pass forward

ward to Santaren, two leagues higher ; where the three ambassadors landing, went to Conimbre to pay their compliments to the king of Portugal, being preceded by all the prelates and persons of quality. The Marquis de Villareal conducted the ambassador of Portugal to the king, who favoured him with a gracious audience.

Zagazabo did not go to Rome, but continued in Portugal, where John de Barros, the famous historian, who has written so admirable an account of the affairs of the Indies, and Damian Goez, asked him what questions they imagined necessary to a knowledge of the state of Ethiopia, and committed to writing the informations they received from him; which however are not much to be depended upon, his answers being generally filled with exaggerations, and even with direct falsehoods. Father Nicholas Godigno, a Jesuit, speaks of them in the following severe terms: “ Mul-  
 “ ta sunt ab iisdem Abassinis magnifice narrato vulgo  
 “ credita, et à quibusdam ex nostris memoriæ tradita,  
 “ quæ falsa esse certo postea deprehendimus. Inde  
 “ factum, ut Damianus Goez et Joannes Barius aliique  
 “ alioquin diligentes, et amantes veritatis auctores non  
 “ pauca hoc de genere scripserint, quæ longe à vero  
 “ distare, nullus fere Lusitanorum ignorat. Damia-  
 “ num et alios ea tempestate fefellit Zagazabus, quem  
 “ ad Joannem Regem Abissinus Imperator oratorem  
 “ misit. Hic enim non contentus res suas nimium ex-  
 “ aggerare et in majus attolere, plurima insuper com-  
 “ mentus est, quæ homines sinceri ac minime mali cum  
 “ à veritate abhorrere ne suspicari quidem possent, pro  
 “ veris accepta posteritati commendarunt. Sed cujus-  
 “ modi illa essent, anni insequentes patefecerunt. Ita-  
 “ que et si ab eo, quo dixi, tempore, aliquam habere  
 “ cœpimus

“cœpimus Abassini Imperii cognitionem; id tamen  
 “non ante nobis probe cognitum, quum et Joannes  
 “Bermondus Patriarcha, de quo postea non nihil re-  
 “feram, à Romano pontifice ex Italia missus, illuc iisset;  
 “et Stephanus Gama dux Lusitanus cum armatâ mili-  
 “tum manu ad easdem terras ex India trajecisset; et  
 “multi postea ex nostris diu ibidem commorantes per  
 “se paulatim singula fuissent experti. Ab anno qui-  
 “dem nati Christi 1560, quo religiosi Societatis Jesu  
 “in Abassiam sunt ingressi, sic omnia Lusitanis patere,  
 “ut non secus ea quam propriâ et domestica norint;  
 “adeoque res constant, ut siquis nunc de Abassinorum  
 “imperio scribat quid quam, aut proferat quod vel le-  
 “viter à vero deflectat, illico coargui possit falsitatis.”  
 And in page 241, “Non me latet Zagazabum illum,  
 “de quo sæpius memini, multos Abassinorum suorum  
 “excusasse errores; cumque negare rem ipsam utpote  
 “nostris notissimam, non posset, legalem animum ne-  
 “gasse. Sed jam monui ab illo Damianum Goez, et  
 “alios per idem tempus historicos fuisse deceptos, mul-  
 “taque ex ejus narratione mandasse litteris, quæ fal-  
 “sa fuisse deprehensum postea est. Scio enim Teclam  
 “Mariam Abassinum Monachum, de quo dicam infra,  
 “in recensendis suorum erroribus sic à Zagazabo dis-  
 “crepasse, adeoque in hac re male inter se convenire  
 “Abassinos, qui apud nos sunt, ut Thomas à Jesu in  
 “Thesauro suo de Abissinis agens, eorumque ex va-  
 “riis autoribus ritus referens, merito dicat difficile esse  
 “hisce de rebus certum aliquid definire.”

Alvarez had scarce breathed the air of Portugal, be-  
 fore he burned with impatience to throw himself at  
 the feet of the Pope with his new commission; but the  
 king, who likewise designed an embassy to his Holiness,  
 could not fix upon a proper person. At length  
 he

he determined to invest Don Martin his nephew with that character, who set out accompanied by Alvarez. In January 1533 they entered Bologna, where the Pope, and Charles V. who was to receive the crown from the hands of his Holiness, then resided. It may easily be imagined what a confluence of persons of all ranks were drawn together by the expectation of seeing this august ceremony performed. Alvarez, who had left Portugal only as chaplain to the ambassador of Portugal, had the pleasure of appearing before this grand assembly in the character of ambassador from Ethiopia. He kissed the feet of his Holiness in the name of David king of Abyssinia, presented him with letters from that prince, and made an harangue.

About this time a Moorish prince, surnamed *Gran* or *the left-handed*, made an irruption with fire and sword into Ethiopia, and conquered great part of it without the least resistance. David, alarmed by the rapidity of his conquests, sent John Bermudes to demand succours from the Christian princes. He, to make the greater haste, crossed the Red-Sea, and travelled through Palestine, being persuaded that he should with most certainty, and in the shortest time, arrive at Rome by that way. Never had ambassador greater success in his negociation. He was made patriarch of Abyssinia; and coming to Lisbon invested with his new dignity, obtained of King John the succours he requested, returning from thence to the Indies, and taking Zagazabo with him. Stephen de Gama fitted out a numerous fleet, entered the Red-Sea, and landed in Abyssinia 400 Portuguese soldiers, under the command of his brother Don Christopher de Gama; which handful of men preserved Abyssinia from ruin, and fixed the crown on the head of Claudius the eldest son of

of David ; a great service, very ill acknowledged and requited. The young emperor forced the patriarch Bermudes out of his dominions, dispersing the Portuguese into different provinces, contrary to the promise he had made of putting them in possession of the third part of his territories if they would deliver him from the victorious armies of his enemy. Pope Julius and the king of Portugal having received information of all that had passed in Abyssinia, came to a resolution of sending another patriarch and two bishops. The person chosen for the patriarchate was John Nuguez Barretti, a man more venerable for his sanctity than his learning, though he had the reputation of being the greatest scholar of the society. The two bishops were Melchior Carneyro of Conimbre, who was made bishop of Nice, and Andrew Oviedo, who was dignified with the title of Bishop of Hierapolis.

Though these prelates were nominated in the time of Julius III. the patriarch and bishop of Hierapolis did not set out till 1556, taking with them ten Jesuits. The viceroy Petro Mascarenas had sent James Dias into Abyssinia with the title of ambassador, to discover the disposition of King Claudius ; giving him Father Gonzalez Rodriguez, a Jesuit, for his companion. The precaution was just : the ambassador met with a kind reception ; but when he came to tell the subject of his embassy, was soon given to understand, that the emperor was by no means pleased that the pope and the king of Portugal should be so forward to intermeddle with the affairs of his conscience and his empire. Father Rodriguez returned to the Indies ; where it was determined, upon the information which he brought, that the patriarch should remain at Goa, and that the bishop of Hierapolis should go to Abyssinia. He took  
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with him five companions, and had a voyage doubly prosperous, landing in Abyssinia five days before the Turks got possession of Mazua and Arkiko, the two places of easiest entrance into that country. Their success however was not agreeable to these prosperous beginnings.

The king of Abyssinia valued himself upon understanding his own religion better than any other person; and therefore would voluntarily engage in frequent disputations, by which, as he always thought himself victorious, he was made more arrogant and obstinate. The most fallacious arguments were received from his mouth with loud applause, while his opponent could not make himself heard; or if he was listened to, all he said was turned to ridicule, and answered by reproaches. The bishop of Hierapolis attacked him more than once without quitting the contest; but finding that no good was to be expected from personal conferences, resolved to write. The king read the book, and spoke with some contempt of the arguments which it contained; telling him at the same time, that nothing should oblige him to forsake the religion of his ancestors, and submit himself to the bishop of Rome. This he spoke in a tone which gave the bishop sufficient reason to believe that he should never make any great advances in his business at court, and that it would be prudent to remove from it; whereupon he withdrew into the provinces, where God poured out his blessing upon the labours of these new apostles, who had made a much greater harvest had the province been at peace, though they were not without receiving some advantage from the tumults of those times; for it is probable that the king, who saw with uneasiness the progress made by the Jesuits, would have

come to the last extremities had he not been hindered by the war in which he was engaged.

Nur the king of Adel laid all the country waste, and penetrated into the very centre of Abyssinia ; and Claudius marching against him, lost the battle together with his life, being succeeded, because he had no children, by his brother Adam ; a prince who had all the bad qualities of his brother, without any of the good. It is said, that being a long time prisoner among the Arabs, he embraced their religion, which he did not abjure till he was ransomed by his brother. He received favourably enough the compliments paid him by the missionaries on his accession to the throne ; but was no sooner informed of the numerous converts made by them, than he called the bishop of Hieropolis before him, and with an air of fierceness and cruelty, forbade him on pain of death to continue to preach the doctrines of the church of Rome. He was answered by the bishop, that his menaces should not fright him from his duty, and that nothing could happen to him more welcome than an opportunity of dying for the faith he came to preach ; that he might take off his head, or expose him to wild beasts, but should never hinder his labours for the salvation of souls. With these words he let his robe fall, presented his head, and with his hands and eyes raised towards heaven, besought the Almighty that he might be thought worthy of martyrdom. The king, unable to bear the freedom of speech used by this generous prelate, fell upon him in a rage, tore his clothes, and with blows forced him out of his presence ; commanding, soon after, that Francis Lobo and he should be taken to an uninhabited mountain, frequented only by wild beasts. They were indeed recalled some time after

ter from this dismal habitation ; but that calm was of short continuance, and the tempest of persecution raged again, involving in distress not only the missionaries, but likewise such of the Abyssins as had been persuaded by their preaching to embrace the Roman religion. Thus passed the whole reign of Adam Segued ; banishment, imprisonment, and favour, alternately succeeding each other.

The Turks and Bharnagash uniting their forces against Adam Segued, routed him entirely, and so much shattered his army, that, being no longer able to keep the field, he was compelled to retire and abscond in the mountains, where he led an unhappy restless life till he died in the year following, that is, in 1563.

About the same time arrived an account of the death of the patriarch in the Indies ; and Don Sebastian, in despair of ever being able to unite Abyssinia to the church of Rome, entreated the Pope that he would recall the missionaries, and send them into China, Japan, and other places, where their labours might be more effectual. The Pope, in compliance with this proposal, issued out a brief, enjoining Father Oviedo and the Jesuits to leave Abyssinia, and to repair to other places. The bishop answered, that he was ready to obey ; but that the Turks being now in possession of the ports, he could not by any means transport himself to any other place, because no vessels now put in on that coast : adding, that it would be more proper to send them assistance than to recall them ; and that if he could obtain only five hundred Portuguese soldiers, he could not only bring back the Abyssins into the pale of the church, but subdue many idolatrous nations ; that there were on the coasts of Mozambique and Sofala many Gentiles that only wanted to be instructed ; that



a neighbouring prince, related to the king of Abyssinia, had testified a great desire of embracing Christianity ; that the Turks began to put the whole empire of Ethiopia in danger, who, if they should get possession of it, would give them great disturbance in their Indian acquisitions, which they would find great difficulty in maintaining ; that all these dangers, greater than he was able to express, would be obviated by sending the troops, which he still continued to request and hope for ; that Melac Segued, a prince without judgment or experience, had nothing but the name of emperor ; that he was already embarrassed with the old enemies of his father ; that peace was the general wish of the people, who were persuaded that they should soon enjoy it if the church of Rome were once acknowledged ; that though the greatest part of the religious opposed them, yet all were not so strongly prejudiced ; and that many were hindered from declaring in their favour by the fear of losing their preferments and employs, or of some severer punishment ; that nothing could be of greater advantage to the church, or contribute more to the security of the Portuguese, than to make Abyssinia a catholic kingdom ; that, setting aside so glorious a prospect, he could but reflect that he was accountable for all the souls that should perish through his abandoning them ; that he had collected two hundred and thirty Catholics, who would be driven to and fro destitute of all spiritual assistance, living then in huts which they had built, where they were instructed, and passed their lives in a frequent celebration of the sacraments, and in other exemplary virtues ; that this number increased every day by the arrival of others, who came from different places to be instructed and converted ; that, to conclude, the conversion of the Abyssins was

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the great work to which he was called by God, and to which he was devoted and consecrated. If, after what had been said, his Holiness should determine him to any other place, he was ready with the humblest obedience to go to China, Japan, or the most barbarous nations, being prepared to resign his life for the glory of God.

A greater warmth of zeal is hardly to be met with, which it is to be wished had been more regulated by the precepts of the gospel. The patriarch had deserved greater encomiums had he always remembered that the holy apostles were sent *as sheep among wolves*, and that his mission was designed not for soldiers but preachers, whose only security was not resistance but flight; that it is the virtue of a Christian, and more particularly of a missionary, to bear persecution patiently for the kingdom of God. But these are lessons which the Portuguese missionaries are not very well qualified to hear, and less to practise. The patriarch, prepossessed with an opinion that the Abyssinians would never submit themselves without compulsion to the church of Rome, made this loud demand for troops, which he continued to repeat till his death in 1577. Of the five Jesuits that were with him, not one returned to the Indies. The last of them was Father Francis Lobo, who was alive in 1596.

Melac Segued died in 1596, leaving only a natural son very young, who was acknowledged as king by the grandees, that hoped to have the management of affairs during the minority; but when he came to take the government upon himself, they all revolted; and having dethroned and banished him into the province of Narea, set the crown upon Zadenghel his cousin, grandson of King David. Father Peter Pays, a Jesuit, who

who without attempting any thing went into Ethiopia, was favourably received, conceived great hopes that the Catholic religion might be now successfully propagated; but the time was yet to come in which the authority of St Peter's successors should again be acknowledged in Abyssinia. The virtue of Zadenghel made him formidable to those who had exalted him to the throne; and the dissatisfaction still increasing, united his enemies in a conspiracy, which grew to that height that he was surprised and killed. Jacob was then recalled; but was opposed by Socinios, grandson of King Basilides, and consequently the next heir; who after a contest of three years with various fortune, gave Jacob at last a total defeat, and took possession of the empire, calling himself *Sultan Segued*.

There never appeared a fairer prospect of making Abyssinia subject to the see of Rome. Four Jesuits who had made their way into that empire, being but a day's journey from the place where the king won the victory which established him on the throne, went to congratulate him. He received them with great benevolence, provided immediately for their subsistence, and furnished them with wine from his own table; then inquiring after Father Payz, he commanded them to send for him; and upon his arrival permitted him to dine in the royal tent, with only a curtain between them. Instances of so great an honour are very uncommon in Abyssinia. After dinner they had a long conference, in which the new king informed Payz that he much desired some Portuguese forces; which the father told him might easily be obtained by renouncing the errors of the church of Alexandria, and embracing the religion of Rome. The condition was accepted by the emperor, and the Father wrote immediately

diately to the Pope, the king of Portugal, and the viceroy of the Indies; the three letters being signed by Sultan Segued, who six years afterwards wrote others with his own hand.

The new king had four brothers by the mother, but of different fathers, to whom he committed some of the most important trusts in his empire: and indeed he had need of some whose fidelity and diligence he might depend on; for in the two first years of his reign there was nothing but civil wars, factions, and revolts; the greatest danger was threatened on the side of Bagameder, where one of his disobedient subjects had called in the Gallees to his assistance, and put himself at their head. Selo Christos the governor of Bagameder was not without reason distrustful of his troops, and was forced to have recourse to a stratagem to make them march against that war-like people, who have almost always been the terror of the Abyssins: at length falling unexpectedly upon his enemies, he made so great a slaughter, that those who were left were glad to purchase their peace by bringing the head of the revolted chief.

The year following there was an insurrection in the kingdom of Tigre, procured by one who pretended to be King Jacob, and to have escaped out of the battle in which he was believed to have perished. This man retreating to the mountains of Bisan between Debaroa and the Red-Sea, made a descent from thence into the level countries, destroying or carrying off all that was found in his way; so that commerce was interrupted, and the rebellious troops enriching themselves with plunder, grew every day more formidable. At length Sela Christos was ordered to march against them, Ala Christos in the mean time having the charge  
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of the province of Bagameder. But unhappily the remedy of one misfortune was the cause of another; for the Galle, who were restrained by the fear of Sela Christos, seizing the opportunity of his absence, broke into the province in so great numbers, that the king was obliged to march against them with the greatest part of his forces, and was unhappily defeated in two battles. The report, which made his loss greater than it really was, raised the hopes of his enemies, whom Sela Christos was hardly in a condition to resist. In this extremity he wrote to the king that he should repair to Axuma; and being there solemnly crowned, assemble all the forces of his empire. The king had already revenged his former losses; having, when he received those letters, gained a complete victory over the Galle; after which he led his army to Axuma, where he was consecrated and crowned by Simeon the Abuna on the 24th of March in the year 1609. Then taking the road to Debaroa, he struck such a terror into his adversaries, that their chief abandoning those whom he had seduced by counterfeiting Jacob the late Emperor, retreated alone, and hid himself with such caution that he could not be found while the Emperor continued in those parts. But no sooner was one sedition suppressed than another was raised: Melchisedec a slave of the late king Melac Segued, coming down from the mountains of Amhara, joined Arson, who pretended to be the brother of Zadenghel; and entering the province of Dambea, was with his companion received and supported by the inhabitants. Emana Christos the King's brother arrived soon enough to oppose them: and Melchisedec thinking himself strong enough to hazard a battle lost his life. Arson being taken prisoner was carried to the king, who commanded his head to be struck off. Ras Sela Christos followed the King;

and the government of Tigre was conferred upon Ampfala Christos. The counterfeit Jacob imagining that he had now nothing to fear, the king being at a great distance, appeared again, having once more got some troops together. He was joined by two of the grandees, though they knew he imposed upon his followers, and was encouraged by the viceroy's slackness to attack him. Ampfala Christos was informed of their design, and determined to meet them with what forces he had; but was dissuaded from it by a Portuguese, who advised him to plant some musketeers in ambush near the road, and to fall upon them when they were in a consternation at the noise of the firearms. The stratagem was so successful, that the two grandees were prisoners at the viceroy's mercy, who sent father Payz to pray for them; the head of the counterfeit Jacob was cut off, and sent to the viceroy.

In all these wars there was not any thing of religion made use of as a pretence. Although the Jesuits had already advanced themselves to great credit with Sultan Segued, it was some time before any more were sent into Ethiopia, till in 1618, and the five following years, nine of the society arrived in that empire; a succour very necessary to repair the loss which the mission of Abyssinia had suffered by the death of Laurentio Romano, which was followed by that of Peter Paya, who had the pleasure to receive Sultan Segued's renunciation, and administer to him the sacrament of penance; and when by that last action he had completed the duties of his mission, he rendered up his soul in May 1622.

The emperor published some time after a declaration, showing the motives of his conversion; in which he a-  
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himadverted with great severity on the scandalous conduct of the late Abunas, and set out their vices in very lively colours. The design of Sultan Segued in this declaration was to prepare the nation for a reception of the patriarch Alp. Mendez, that none might be surprised at the extraordinary honours which were intended him, and were afterwards paid him ; a particular account of whose mission has already been given in the foregoing relation of father Jerome Lobo. It is to be wished that the patriarch, a man without controversy, possessed of many great and excellent endowments, had loaded himself with less business, and been more cautious in the exercise of his authority, which he carried to the same height in Abyffinia as in a country subject to the inquisition; turning, by these violent measures, the whole world against the missionaries, and raising such a detestation of the Jesuits, as continues in the country to this day.

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# DISSERTATION X.

## ON THE ERRORS OF THE ABYSSINS,

Relating to the INCARNATION.

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**T**HE greater number of those who have written on the religion of the Abyssins have fallen into one of these extremes ; either they have affirmed that it is so corrupted with Jewish superstitions, that its professors retain only the name of Christians ; or they have pretended that the primitive purity is only preserved in Abyssinia, and that no error or corruption can be charged upon them ; that they have abandoned the Eutychian heresy ; that the schisms supposed to be kept up in the east, are only continued because the different parties do not sufficiently understand each other ; and that the controversies between them and the Catholic church are only disputes about words.

Neither of these opinions is exactly agreeable to truth. It has appeared in the foregoing dissertations by what far-fetched arguments the Ethiopians endeavour to defend themselves against the charge of Judaism ; and perhaps they might clear themselves if a single custom only was insisted on ; but whoever shall take into one view such an assemblage of practices borrowed from the ancient law, as is found in their religion, will be



be easily convinced that the Jewish worship has much infected their Christianity.

When we shall speak of their errors in regard of the use of the sacraments, we shall prove at the same time that they are not so numerous as those generally imagine, who being unacquainted with the state of the eastern church, condemn a little too inconsiderately every thing that is not agreeable to the customs of their own country. Men of this turn of mind have made it a crime in the Abyssins to fast on a Wednesday rather than on Saturday; to confirm infants when they baptise them; and to admit them to the communion at the same time: Though these are ancient customs retained by the eastern church to this day. It is not over politic to talk in so high a strain of the sovereign pontiff's authority, to princes jealous of their power, and who are ready to suspect that a lord is going to be set over them. David, king of Abyssinia, weary with hearing of nothing but the Pope, could not forbear asking Alvarez one question, which threw him into such a perplexity that he had nothing to say.

The Abyssins pretend that they are not Eutychians; and indeed they confess that Jesus Christ is truly God and man, and that the divine and the human nature were united without mixture or confusion: They treat Eutyches as an heretic, and pronounce the anathema against him; but then they place Dioscorus, that warm defender of the Eutychians, in the number of their saints, and reject the letter of Leo to Flavian, esteeming it unclean, and terming the council of Chalcedon an assembly of foolish and factious men, who in compliance with the Emperor Marcian betrayed the truth. They give those who receive that council the name of *Imperialists*, or *Melchites*, and confound them with

with the Nestorians. They avoid making use of the word *nature*; and when they do admit it, they say Jesus Christ was composed of two natures, but had not two *natures*. “ Ex duabus, sed non in duabus *naturis*. ”

Savutius, the 55th Jacobite patriarch of Alexandria, has explained himself thus in a letter which he wrote the second year after his election.

“ CREDIMUS etiam quod in fine temporis, Deus cum dignatus est salvare genus nostrum a servitute, misit Filium suum unigenitum in mundum, qui incarnatus est similis nobis in omnibus factus, ex Spiritu sancto et ex Maria Virgine, assumpto corpore perfecto absque peccato: corpore, inquam, anima prædito modo incomprehensibili, fecitque corpus illud unum suum, sen, univit illud sibi, absque alteratione, commixtione aut divisione; ita tamen ut una natura fuerit, suppositum unum, persona una: passus est in corpore propter nos mortuus est et surrexit a mortuis secundum scripturas et ascendit in cælum, sedetque ad dexteram Patris. Cum vero dicimus Deum passum esse pro nobis et mortuum, secundum fidem intelligimus eum pro nobis passum esse in corpore, cum ipse sit impassibilis, Deusque ille unus, quemadmodum docuerunt nos patres ecclesiæ sanctæ. Quicumque vero per blasphemiam et dividens, asseruerit Deum verbum neque passum neque morti esse obnoxium, sed hominem ipsum esse qui passus et mortuus fuerit, atque ita diviserit illum in duo, Deum verbum ex una parte, et hominem ex altera; ita ut in duabus naturis, aut duabus personis consistere eum existimet, quarum utraque operetur, quæ naturæ suæ consentanea sunt, ejusmodi homines ita introducere moliantur fidem impuram Nestorii: Cum

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lique profani et obsceni Chalcedonensis, contra fidem orthodoxam. Illos anathematizat ecclesia universalis apostolica; illos fugimus et execramur; anathematizamusque eos qui confitentur quod Deus verbum post unionem incomprehensibilem duas naturas habeat. Nos vero recte confitemur quod Deus verbum suscepit in se voluntarie passiones in corpore: neque enim dubium est, unionem omnino et in omnibus unam esse. Quippe naturæ quæ primum unita sunt, nulla omnino ratione separantur, verbo ita dispensante, cum sint inseparabiles, etiam in ipso passionis tempore, quam in corpore suo suscepit. Alioquin incideremus in errorem similem, Photini et Sabellii, qui impie asseruerunt divinitatem recessisse, humanitatem vero cruci affixam fuisse: quos, et sententias eorum impias, anathematizamus, eorum anthropolatreion fugientes."

The confession of faith by Minā or Mennasti, patriarch of Alexandria, is conformable to the letter.

"CONFITEMUR naturam unam et personam unam perfectam, ex duabus per unionem, absque alterutrius destructione, commixtione et corruptione unius verbi incarnatam. Testatur etiam Cyrillus in eadem sententia fuisse Patres antiquos, et recentiores eadem comparatione uti solitos, animæ scilicet et corporis. Credimus igitur et affirmamus quod unus est Christus Filius Dei ex duabus naturis et personis divinitatis et humanitatis perfectis; quodque factus est natura una, persona una verbi incarnati et inhumanati: Neque omnino dicimus post unionem naturas duas, personas duas, voluntates duas, et operationes diversas; qui enim eam sententiam tenet excommunicatus est et damnatus a sanctis Patribus, præclarisque ecclesiæ doctoribus, ut superius

superius ostendibus ; atque hæc est Nestorii sectatorum-que ejus sententia.”

Every man who has the least sense of humanity, must lament the miseries which are the constant attendants on heresy and schism ; but no man that makes profession of a religion, can censure a council the decrees of which his church received, or not condemn those errors which that assembly hath condemned : Yet this is what Mr Ludolf has made no scruple of doing. He ascribes the loss of Egypt to the irreconcilable hatred subsisting between the Melchites and the Jacobites, to the severities of the governors, and to the violences used to the Jacobites by the Greek Emperors ; and relates on this occasion a fact which ought not to be forgotten, from an Abyssin manuscript of the Abbe Samuel.

The Emperor (apparently Heraclius) sent 200 soldiers to seize all the bishops. The Abbe Paul who had fled into the desert was arrested by the peasants and brought home. Maxirien, who was entrusted with the execution of the Emperor's orders, having assembled the monks, presented to them a confession of faith drawn up, with these words, *Credite in id quod scriptum est in hoc codice*. This form was full of blasphemies. They all stood silent, but plainly showed by the dejection of their looks that they did not receive it ; upon which the officer, enraged, ordered them to be scourged in a cruel manner ; and continued to threaten them with greater severities, till Abbe Samuel rose up, and being ready to die for the sake of truth, told him that they neither admitted that corrupt confession, nor the council of Chalcedon, nor owned any other patriarch than the Abba Benjamin their master and pastor ;

for; adding, I affirm that the Roman Emperor is heretical: I here pronounce an anathema against the book which you present me, and against the council of Chalcedon, and those that receive it. Then tearing the book, he threw it before the door of the church.

The council of Chalcedon is acknowledged orthodox by the Lutherans and Calvinists as well as by the Catholics; yet Mr Ludolf not only excuses instead of censuring the Abyssins, but likewise all the Jacobites; he attacks the council itself, and gives his opinion, that in treating with the Abyssins on religious subjects, it would be proper not to mention it; but, omitting the words *nature* and *person*, to comprise the doctrine in other terms; to which, says he, I am persuaded the Abyssins would readily subscribe. An admirable expedient, and truly worthy of its author! Thus were we to reconcile an Arian, no mention is to be made of consubstantiality or the council of Nice, or of the Virgin Mother of God in the conversion of a Nestorian; as in discoursing with the Abyssins, no notice is to be taken that in other terms we teach the same doctrine with the council of Chalcedon.

It is yet more necessary for the Abyssins to acknowledge the council of Chalcedon, and the letter of St Leo to Flavian; because, as we are told by Mr Ludolf, the words by which *substance*, *person*, and *nature* are expressed in their language are very equivocal, and capable of acceptations, which may easily be confounded; so that to clear their belief of all ambiguities which might for ever give occasion to disputes among them, they can propose no other expedient than to speak as the church speaks in the council of Chalcedon. But this they are so far from approving, that to confirm

confirm themselves in their errors they have recourse to forged miracles; and contrive to utter voices from tombs, which pronounce Leo a wicked destroyer of souls, and his book polluted and impure, and declare the Emperor Marcian and Pulcheria accursed, together with the council of Chalcedon, the bishops who were assembled at it, and all who believe that since the incarnation two natures subsist in our Saviour Jesus Christ.

After such anathemas as these, pronounced in this manner, and authorised by pretended miracles, we ought, if we follow Mr Ludolf's advice, to disguise and dissemble our opinion, to avoid the mention either of two natures or of the council of Chalcedon. One would imagine it scarce possible that he should carry his indifference with regard to so important a point of religion so far, unless he were some latitudinarian, or patron of toleration.

The patriarch Alphonso Mendez, whose knowledge was equal to Mr Ludolf's ignorance of divinity, though our author would doubtless have favoured him with the same excellent advice, seems by no means inclined to have followed it. That prelate, who had spent ten years in endeavouring the conversion of the Abyssins, speaks of their notions concerning the incarnation of our Saviour Jesus Christ, in these words.

“ Sed plures et obstinatiores illorum sunt in dominicam incarnationem positiones. In primis enim duplicem Christi naturam cum Eutychete diffitentur: unam vero, eamque solam divinam ex duabus factam, ut in hominibus fit ex corpore et anima, cum Monophysitis, et unam voluntatem, et naturalem operationem, cum Monothelitis, tuentur: Et eodem modo cum Nestorianis unam personam ex duabus conglobant, inter naturam

naturam et personam nihil discriminis agnoscentes; personam vero rentur ipsam esse corporaturam, nec illam solis substantiis rationalibus, sed etiam inanimis, ut navibus, arboribus, et montibus assignant. Divinitatem et humanitatem ex æquo componunt, illam natam, victam, et mortuam; istam omnipotentem et omnia loca pervadentem, stulte buccinantes; Eutychitem ob leviuscula sensa hæreticis, Dioscorum ipsius in omnibus patronum doctoribus et martyribus apponunt; divum Leonem et concilium Chalcedonense paribus præbris et diris infectantur, et impuriis cantionibus proscindunt."

Eutyches was accused of having embraced the heresy of the Apollinarians, and was in that point abandoned by Dioscorus, and the Abyssins after his example pronounce him accursed: but as they follow him in the rest of his errors, rejecting the Pope's letter and the council of Chalcedon, they are no less chargeable with heresy and schism. The Eutychians have met the same fate with the rest who have separated from the church, being divided, as they are not restrained by any authority, in different sects. Timotheus a priest of Constantinople has enumerated the various parties of Eutychians, and given us the characteristic by which each is distinguished from the rest; and having compared the efforts of the Eutychians against the council of Chalcedon with those of the Arians against the council of Nice, he concludes with a triumphant exclamation.

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# DISSERTATION XI.

CONCERNING THE

S A C R A M E N T S;

Particularly those of BAPTISM and CONFIRMATION.

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**W**E have shown in the Ninth Dissertation that the Abyssins have admitted many Jewish ceremonies into their religion ; and in the Tenth, that they are Jacobites, and that Mr Ludolf's defence of their errors is insufficient. It is now our intention to give an account of their belief concerning the sacraments.

The Catholic friends of Mr Ludolf made complaints of the captious questions put by him to Gregory the Abyssin, which we shall not repeat, contenting ourselves with proving that the Abyssins like us believe seven sacraments, though they differ from us in the manner of administration. Their definition of a sacrament is sufficiently conformable to ours. We hold that a sacrament is an outward visible sign of an invisible grace, which God implants in our minds at the time when the sacrament is conferred ; and indeed all the eastern Christians, of what church soever, holds a sacrament to be



be a divine and holy institution, performed by the ministry of a priest; and which by things material, corporeal, and sensible, manifests and sets forth the spiritual grace which God communicates by means of that sacrament to those who worthily receive it. They except baptism, because in case of necessity that may be administered by a layman, or even by a nurse. Joseph Abudacni, in his history of the Jacobites, printed at Oxford in 1675, says expressly, that they have seven sacraments like the Papists, Greeks, and Armenians. Mr Ludolf did not think it convenient to confine himself to printed books, or to consult the liturgies that lay by him; but introducing this Abyssin upon the stage, by his manner of asking questions makes him say what he assures us he did, and what is entirely contrary to the truth.

It cannot, however, be denied, that in some instances, the accounts given by the Jesuits are not to be depended on; for either through ignorance, or to make their mission seem of more importance, they have accused the Abyssins of errors which are not to be found among them.

Father Nicholas Godigno, speaking of the dominican of Valencia, who has made himself famous for the lies and impertinences which he published about the kingdom of Prester-John; together with father Balthasar Tellez and Mr Ludolf, affirm, that confirmation and extreme unction are not in use among the Abyssins.

We will set against the testimony of one missionary and Jesuit the testimony of another; and oppose these Portuguese Jesuits; men zealous indeed, but too much prejudiced, and who had little other knowledge than the learning of their schools, with a French Jesuit;

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grown old in the missions of Egypt, and that wanted neither time nor opportunity to make himself fully acquainted with the religion of the Cophtes or Jacobites professed by the Abyssins. This Jesuit is father de Bernat, who, in his letter to father Fleurian superintendent of those missions, gives an account of the care he has taken to understand the opinions of those people. The letter is dated at Cairo the 26th of July 1711; from which we shall extract the most important passages.

“ I HAVE (says he) applied myself with all possible diligence to the consideration of the sacraments as administered by the Cophtes, not only having laid hold on every occasion of seeing them celebrated, but consulted likewise the most learned among them, and read their rituals and other ecclesiastical books.

“ It is not to be expected from the Cophtes, that when they are asked the number of the sacraments, they should immediately answer like the children among us, that they are seven; I have observed already that they want catechisms among them. Whoever desires to know their sentiments on this point, must go through all the sacraments, asking them concerning each, whether it be a visible sign of an invisible grace, and whether it be a sacrament; they will immediately answer that they believe it to be a sacrament; nor do they make the least hesitation about any one of them. If you proceed to ask them, whether all the sacraments are of divine institution, they do not understand the question; but if you explain it upon each sacrament singly, they agree with you in confessing that Jesus Christ has instituted them, and commanded them all to be used in his church. Such confessions as these

are what every one ought to be satisfied with from a people that have no schools of divinity among them; who are perplexed at first about the meaning of a question, and cannot express themselves clearly concerning it. I could wish that your doctors who determine so positively upon the belief of the Cophtes, had more regard to what I have mentioned, or were upon the spot to converse with them.

“ I am afraid you will not be able to understand what I have to say, unless I first explain to you the meaning of the words *meiron* and *galilaum*. The first is the holy *chrism*, so named from the Greek *myron*; the other is the consecrated oil. The consecration of the *meiron* is performed with great expence and many ceremonies by the patriarch himself, assisted by the bishop; so that it had not been renewed in 24 years, when in the year 1703, before Easter, many bishops, priests, and deacons, assembled themselves here in order to the consecration of the *meiron*; which is composed not only of oil of olives and balm, but of many other precious and odoriferous drugs, which it is the business of the patriarch together with the bishop to mix and prepare. This ceremony must be performed in the church with singing of psalms, and continues almost all the day. I was informed, that besides the prayers proper on this occasion, they repeat or sing over all the books of the Old and New Testament; which I cannot comprehend, unless it be understood of particular parts of each book, or the priests divided into different choirs take different books; but this I pass over as of no great consequence. The patriarch on Holy Tuesday consecrates the *meiron*; on Easter Sunday and the two following days he throws what remained of the old into the vessels of the new, and distributes

tributes to each bishop the quantity which he has occasion for in his diocese. When he consecrates an archbishop of Ethiopia, he gives him some of this meiron, which is not sent into that country on any other occasion; so that it was esteemed a signal mark of favour when I was intrusted with a bottle to carry to the archbishop. I was, for my sins, hindered from executing this honourable commission, being, when I came to the frontiers of Ethiopia, forbidden to enter that kingdom. I shall add to this account, that the Emperor of Ethiopia is anointed at his coronation with this meiron, and that the expences of the last consecration amounted to 1000 crowns.

“ The galilæum is not so costly, being nothing more than the oil; which having been used in washing the vessels that held the meiron, is made holy by the drops of that liquor which are mingled with it. Of this kind of oil, if there be not a sufficient quantity, the priest consecrates more.

“ I come now to the administration of the sacrament of baptism. The mother, dressed in the neatest manner possible, presents herself at the gate of the church with the infant, which is likewise dressed with equal care. There the bishop or the priest, whose office it is, repeats some long prayers over them, first beginning with the mother; then taking them into the church, he anoints the infant six times with a holy oil by way of exorcism; and afterwards thirty-six times with the galilæum, upon so many parts of his body; then he blesses the font, throwing twice into it the holy oil; and making each time three signs of the cross with the meiron; all which is accompanied with long prayer. Having thus ended the benediction of the font, he dips the infant three times: at the first, as far as the  
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third part of his body, with these words, *I baptise thee in the name of the Father* ; at the second, two thirds of his body, saying, *I baptise thee in the name of the Son* ; at the third time he puts in his whole body, repeating, *I baptise thee in the name of the Holy Ghost*. He then administers the eucharist to the newly baptised infant with only the element of wine, having first conferred confirmation upon him. He dips his finger in the chalice, and so touches the child's mouth. It is to be observed, that the mother doth not appear out of her own house for forty days after having brought a son, and twenty-four after a daughter ; so that baptism is deferred for that space. There is likewise another reason for delaying it, that the mother may have time to procure proper dresses ; so that, on some of these accounts, they often spend six or seven months before the child is brought to baptism : and if during that interval any distemper attacks the child so as to threaten its life, it is carried to the church, and laid on a carpet near the font, in which the priest dips his hands, and rubbing the body over at three times, repeats the form of baptism already recited. If this baptism be performed in the evening, or at any hour in which mass is not allowed to be said, the priest must stay with the mother and the child in the church till the morrow, that the child may be admitted to the communion. The foundation of this custom is, that among the Cophtes baptism can only be performed in a church, and by the hands of the bishop or priest. This abuse is attended with this deplorable consequence, that if the infant be not in a condition to be carried to church, the priest comes to the house, and having repeated the prayers for the mother, and performed the six unctions on the child, he asks thrice, Whether the child believes

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believes in three persons? and being answered, Yes, by the godfather and godmother, he goes on with other prayers, pronounces the benediction, and goes away. If they are reproached with suffering a soul to perish, they produce this canon in their defence: *If any infant after the last unction, or even after the first, dies, be not afflicted; but be assured that the unction is to him instead of baptism, and that he shall be saved by that baptism."*

Thus far Father Bernat. As to the objections which may be drawn from this canon against the necessity of baptism, the reader may find them obviated in the 5th volume of the *Abbe Renaudot's Perpetuity of the Faith*; who cites other canons, plainly proving that the necessity of that sacrament is maintained by the eastern churches.

Alvarez has, in my opinion, committed many mistakes in his account of the Abyssinian manner of baptizing; for he affirms that they have no fonts, and that the priest pours water on the infant as it is held in the godfather's arms, pronouncing at the same time these words, *I baptize thee, &c.* The ceremony is performed in a manner entirely different. The font is filled with water, which the priest blesses, throwing into it salt and oil, having first sung with the other clergy some hymns, and repeated several prayers, and read the epistle and gospel. Then the godfather, leaving the women at the gate, carries in the child; which, after the lamps are lighted, is, upon the godfather's declaring his desire to have him baptised, received by the priest, and immersed in the water three times, with the form of baptism. The priest then, having dried his body with a linen cloth, confirms him, and anoints all his joints with oil; then proceeding to say mass, admits

admits him to the communion. It is pretended by Father du Bernat, that the priest only touches his mouth with his finger dipped in the chalice; but others affirm that he gives him part of the host. Notwithstanding all these ceremonies, the Jesuits pretended that the priests erred in the form of baptism, saying, instead of *I baptise thee in the name, &c. I baptise thee in the waters of Jordan*; and that others made use of forms different from that commanded by Jesus Christ. Upon this supposition, whether true or false, they re-baptised great numbers of Abyssins; which, though done with the proviso, if they were not lawfully baptised before, highly offended the whole nation, and was one of the injuries which king Basilides complained of to the patriarch Alphonso Mendez, when he drove the Jesuits out of his dominions.

Of the repetition of baptism practised by the Abyssins, though Mr Ludolf denies it, we have unanswerable proofs; and the ceremony is described by Alvarez in a manner so plain and simple, that I believe the reader will not be displeased with an account extracted from him.

On the 4th of January 1521. The Portuguese were commanded to carry their tents to the place at which Prester-John was to be baptised according to their custom, on the feast of Epiphany; where being asked, if they would be baptised, they answered by Alvarez, that they had received baptism already, and could not repeat it. There was a pit dug for this purpose, into which they descended by six steps; where an old man, who had been preceptor to Prester-John, standing up to the shoulders in the water, immersed the heads of those who presented themselves, repeating at the same time, *I baptise thee in the name of the Father, of the*  
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*Son, and of the Holy Ghost.* The king, ordering the Portuguese to be called, desired Alvarez to give his opinion of that ceremony; whose answer was, that nothing could make it innocent or excusable except the good intention; that we are taught by the council of Nice to acknowledge one baptism for the remission of sins; and that the council of Nice was acknowledged as well by the Abyssins as by the Romans. But, answered the king, you ought to propose some means by which those who, having apostatized, are again returned to the church, may be reconciled. As for apostates, returned the Portuguese, we ought to instruct them, and to pray for them, and if they continue obstinate, to burn them; but if they, with humble contrition and sorrow, beg for pardon and pity, the Abuna ought to absolve them, imposing upon them such penance as he shall judge convenient; unless he shall choose rather to refer them to the Pope, in whom the whole power of the church resides. Alvarez repeated a second time, that if apostates would not be converted they ought to be burnt, as the custom is in the Roman church.

This discourse was approved by the king; who informed him that his grandfather had, by the advice of many learned and able men, directed this baptism, lest those great numbers that had fallen off from the church should perish for want of means of recovery.

This repetition of baptism is then an error introduced about sixty years before the arrival of the Portuguese. It is something more than a mere ceremony in commemoration of the baptism of our Saviour Jesus Christ: for they have entertained so firm a persuasion, that by being baptised again only their sins are forgiven



ren them, that, when they had abolished the Roman religion, and driven the Jesuits out of their empire, a general rebaptization was commanded, “in order,” says the patriarch, “to wash away the filth which they imagined they had contracted by receiving the orthodox faith.”

It is hard to comprehend how Mr Ludolf, after testimonies so authentic, should dare to produce the accounts of Gregory, *l. iii. c. 6.* “*Relata a Gregorio refero, Alvarez aliter, et tanquam verum baptismum, virosque cum fæminis promiscue rebaptizatos narrat. An tum temporis ita fecerint, et an Alvarezius verba baptizantis recte intellexerit, equidem dubito.*”

Did Alvarez only tell what he had seen, had not he had a conference with the king on that subject; in short, had the whole affair depended on his single testimony, others might here have suspended their opinion no less than Mr Ludolf: but his narration is confirmed by all the Jesuits who have been since his time in Abyssinia. Father Nicholas Godigno, whose history of Abyssinia is collected from the letters of Gonfalso Rodriguez and Antonio Fernandes, upon this very article contradicts Urreta, that Dominican who has made himself so much talked of by the impostures he has been the author of about Abyssinia; who, though censured no less by Mr Ludolf than by other learned men, had affirmed before him, that this celebration of baptism was only a ceremony instituted in commemoration of the baptism of Jesus.

“*Quotannis ipso sancto Epiphaniæ die, in memoriam ac reverentiam baptizati Christi, corpora in Lacubus aut fluminibus sole re abluere, mystis præsentibus, et preces quasdam recitantibus. Inde ait occasionem aliquos accepisse falso existimandi, solere Abassinos baptismum*

baptisma iterare. Hæc illa, sed jam supra ostensum est Abassinos baptismum modis pluribus repetere, et hunc cum aliis tenere errorem." The same author afterwards writes thus: "Apud antiquiores historicos reperio, ex veterum imperatorem instituto, esse apud hanc gentem positum in more, baptisati pueruli in fronte quædam inurere stigmata."

Alvarez speaks of these *stigmata* or marks in these terms: "As to the marks which appear on the face above the nose, or on the eye-brows of black slaves, they are not made with fire, nor on any account relating to religion, as it has been falsely presumed."

Some ancient authors have written, it is true, that the Nubians baptised by fire: but they were ill informed of that country, and of the religion which then prevailed and still prevails there; which we should even at this time be very ignorant of but for the Portuguese Jesuits. Neither the knowledge nor the veracity of the Abyssins is to be depended on; those who have been in Europe having given such various accounts of their religion, that it is impossible to know which deserves the most credit.

"Scio" says Father Godigno "Teclam Mariam Abassinum monachum, de quo dicam infra, in recensendis suorum erroribus sic a Zagazabo discrepasse, adeoque in hac re male inter se convenire Abassinosque apud nos sunt, ut Thomas a Jesu in Thesouro suo de Abassinis agens, eorumque ex variis autoribus ritus referens, merito dicat difficile esse hisce de rebus certum aliquid definire; idem ego jure possem dicere, nisi quæ hic propono ex ipsis Patrum Nostrorum, qui in Abassia degunt, omniaque perspecta habent, Cognovissem Litteris."

The world has been more acquainted with Abyssinia since the Father Balthasar Tellez has written the history of it. Had that Father, or those who furnished him with his memoirs, been more acquainted with the eastern church, they had not by their mistakes accused the Abyssins of errors which they are free from, or furnished the enemies of the Roman church with arms against it.

Mr Ludolf affirms from the testimony of Father Tellez, to which he might have added those of all the Portuguese Jesuits, that confirmation is not known to the Abyssins, to whom I shall not scruple to oppose the single relation of the same Father Bernat.

Baptism, says he, writing to Father Fleurian, is immediately followed by confirmation, which is administered by the same priest in this manner: After long prayers he repeats thirty-six unctions on the body of the infant, which are performed with the meiron, saying at the anointing of the forehead and eyes, *The ointment of grace and of the Holy Spirit*; of the nose and mouth, *the ointment, the pledge of the kingdom of heaven*; of the ears, *the ointment of communion of everlasting life*; of the hands within and without, *the holy unction to Christ our Lord, and the indelible character*; upon the heart, *the perfection of grace and of the Holy Spirit*; at the knees and hands, *I have anointed you with the holy ointment, in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.*

The Abbe Renaudot had long since written the same thing in his memoirs of the church of Abyssinia, which he has been pleased to communicate to us, which may be farther illustrated by what he says in his fifth volume of the *Perpetuity of the Faith*, concerning the baptism of the Ethiopians. This learned Abbe tells us

us in the same work, that confirmation is called *meiron* or the *holy ointment*, from the ointment used in the administration of this sacrament, by the Greeks, Syrians, Cophtes, and Ethiopians. These proofs are, in my opinion, sufficient to make it clear that the Abyssins receive confirmation as a sacrament: of which whoever desires a more perfect knowledge, may consult the authors already cited.

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## DISSERTATION XII.

### ON THE EUCCHARIST AND PENANCE.

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**T**HE Abbe Renaudot has so well explained the belief of the Abyssins concerning the mystery of the eucharist in the fourth and fifth tome of the *Perpetuity of the Faith*, that we cannot do better than refer the reader thither, where he will observe the irresistible force with which he opposes and confutes the errors of Mr Ludolf, and confirms the truth of that adorable mystery. Wansleb had before treated on the same subject, though with less learning, yet in such a manner as obliged Mr Ludolf either to examine it more nicely, or explain himself with more circumspection. All the learned were scandalized at his affectation of expressing the sacrament celebrated on our altars by the term *sacra cæna*, the holy supper, and his declining the use of any other. The Abbe Renaudot, after having refuted him in his *Perpetuity of the Faith*, was obliged to engage him again in his defence of the history of the patriarchs of Alexandria, in which he writes thus :

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Mr Ludolf, who wrote for all the world, and not for the Protestants alone, ought to make use of such expressions as are known to the churches of which he speaks. Those which he translates by *sacra cæna*, are rendered in the dictionaries of Protestants themselves by the words *eucharist* and *liturgy*; and although Castellus copied Mr Ludolf's dictionary, he hath yet explained the word *korban* by Eucharist, which Mr Ludolf had not done, having rendered it *panem et vinum benedictum in sancta cæno*. It is so called by the Ethiopian and Arabic Christians before the consecration, but after it, it is termed *the body and blood of Jesus Christ*. The verb from which that noun is derived, he renders *sacramentum distribuit minister*; using a barbarous expression unknown equally to profane and ecclesiastical Latin writers, for the sake of giving a false and equivocal interpretation. It is false, because he restrains the word which signifies the whole action or ceremony of administering the sacrament, which the Orientals call the mystical oblation, *anaphora*, *kadas*, and *the sacrifice*, to the single act of distribution. He has left his readers to guess whom he means by *minister*, whether he be such a person as the greatest part of Protestants mean by ministers, or whether he be a deacon, subdeacon, or one of an inferior order. He likewise in his translation of *korban*, confounds the oblation that is first blessed by the prayers, with that which is made after the consecration. If in the history of Alexandria, I had translated those words, which are as much Arabic as Ethiopian, after the dictionary of Mr Ludolf, and speaking of a solemn office, had said that the patriarch celebrated the supper in such a church, or that the minister *at the supper* distributed the blessed bread and wine to the people, the translation would be no less

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ridiculous, than, if speaking of what passed in a Calvinist church, I should say, *the priest said mass*. Grotius, with reason, ridiculed the editors of the memoirs of Philip de Comines at Geneva, who inserted the word *supper* instead of *mass*; and it is no less improper for Mr Ludolf to introduce into his account of the ceremonies of religion forms of speech never known before.

Mr Ludolf, after having given us these prayers, *Convert this bread that it may become thy pure body, which is joined with this cup of thy precious blood.—Let the Holy Spirit descend, and come and shine upon this bread, that it may be made the body of Christ our God; and let the taste of this cup be changed, that it may become the blood of Christ our God*; after having related these prayers with some others, he asks Gregory the meaning of the words *convert* and *change*, and whether the Abyssins believe *transubstantiation*, a word certainly much less intelligible to the Abyssinian than the others, which are sufficiently plain and determinate. Gregory, who certainly did not understand him, answers, that the Abyssins know nothing of transubstantiation, and do not trouble themselves with scruples about such difficult questions; that the bread and wine were in his opinion converted from common food into the holy and mysterious representative of the body and blood of Jesus Christ; and that from profane it becomes sacred, so as to represent to the communicants the body and blood of Jesus Christ.

It would not be improper to demand of Mr Ludolf his reason for asking Gregory, on account of the words *change* and *convert*, if he did not believe that the bread and wine were changed into the body and blood of Jesus Christ. The answer of Gregory, *sibi videri*, that it

is his opinion, is not the answer of a man thoroughly instructed in his religion; and the *mysteriosum* and *representativum* seem rather the expressions of some Zuinglion than of that Abyssin.

As for the testimony of father Balthasar Tellez he shall make all the use of it he can. It is agreed that that father doubts of the validity of their consecration, because of some defect in the form; but our dispute is not about the validity of their consecration, but about their belief; and it appears from the Ethiopian liturgies which have been transmitted hither, that they are fully persuaded of the real presence.

Let any man read the history of the church of Alexandria, and consider the purity required of the priest when he says mass, and of the laity when they communicate; and consider whether all this is required only for a symbol which has nothing in it of reality. But if even that should be affirmed, let him consider what can be objected to the acclamation and profession of faith made by the people, when the officiating priest pronounces these words, *This is my body which is broken for you for the remission of sins*; at which all cry out, *Amen, Amen, Amen. We praise thee, Lord God, this is truly thy body, and so we believe.*

The priest having likewise said over the cup, *This is the cup of my blood which shall be shed for you for remission, and for the redemption of many*; the people answer, *Amen, this is truly thy blood; we believe.* The priest continues, *you shall do this, you shall do this in remembrance of me*; the people answer, *We declare thy death, O Lord, and believe thy holy resurrection, ascension, and thy second coming. We call upon thee, O Lord our God; we believe that it is truly so.* After the priest has said the prayer at the breaking of the bread, the  
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 people



people reply, *The armies of the angels of the Saviour of the world stand before him, and surround the body and blood of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ ; let us come before his face, and with faith worship Jesus Christ.* After the prayer of repentance or absolution, when the priest has communicated, he gives the communion to the people with these words, *This is the bread of life, descended from heaven, verily the precious body of Emanuel, our God. Amen.* The communicant then answers, *Amen.* The deacon who presents the cup, says, *This is the cup of life descended from heaven, which is the precious blood of Jesus Christ.* He who receives it, says, *Amen, Amen.* At the giving thanks, the priest says, *My King, and my God, I will sing thy praises, and will bless thy name for ever and ever. Our Father which art in heaven, lead us not into temptation, since we have been made partakers of thy holy body, and precious blood ; and we give thee thanks that we have been thought worthy to communicate in the mystery of glory and holiness, which surpasses all understanding. I will bless thee, and praise thy name for ever and ever.*

It is not easily to be believed by one who reads these prayers taken out of the common Ethiopian liturgy, that these people do not believe the real presence. Nor is it unjustly observed by the learned Abbe who has published those liturgies, that Mr Ludolf's writings, either from his prejudices in favour of his own religion, or from his ignorance of the Alexandrian church, only serve to confound and obscure the little knowledge we might have of the Abyssinian religion. The patriarch Alphonso Mendez pretends to doubt, whether the priests do really consecrate the elements, because the material part is defective ; and he imagines the priests not right-

ly ordained. As to the matter, he remarks, that they make use of leavened bread, and that it is not really wine which they use as wine. The patriarch was a man of very extensive knowledge, but very little acquainted with the customs of the eastern churches.

It was never objected to the Greeks that they made use of leavened bread, which has been long in use in the west. And the prayers, piety, and solemnity, with which the Orientals prepare the *korban*, are decencies which the Latins would not do amiss to imitate in the making of their hosts.

As for wine, there is little of it in Ethiopia, and it is scarce possible to keep it there ; to remedy this inconvenience they keep raisins in the sacristy, which they steep for some days in water, and having dried them a little in the sun, express the juice, which is forbidden to be kept in any other vessels than those dedicated to that use, which are laid up in the sacristy. Which is thus explained in their rituals. “ *Observet quoque sacerdos diligenter vinum, ne in acetum versum fuerit, aut saporem suum amiserit. In necessitate autem sumatur uvarum succus, aut ex uvis passis liquor expressus, modo expers sit ignis aut alterius hujus modi excoctionis, cum enim vinum bonum deest, cum isto liturgia celebrari potest. Non oportet omnino sacerdotem ad altare deferre vinum in eo vase quod fidelis quisque laicus vir aut fœmina attulerit, sed deferet illud in vase quod in ecclesia, peculiariter ad hunc usum destinatum sit.*”

The father du Bernat, being designed for the mission of Ethiopia, was at a loss how to say mass there ; and consulting Mr Poncet who had been there, was assured by him that the water penetrating the raisin restored it to its natural juice ; and that consequently what

was

was expressed was true and natural wine; that it was the same thing whether the water entered through the skin of the raisin or at the root of the vine; but this reasoning gave little satisfaction to father du Bernat.

It is true that the Orientals do not elevate the host, or, to use their term, the *isbadicon*, immediately after the consecration, but just before the communion. Then the deacon cries out *attendamus*, and the priest, *sancta sanctis*. At the time of the elevation, the deacons lift up the tapers and crosses, and the people bowing and uncovering their heads, cry out, *Verily so it is; O Lord have mercy on us*. On Sunday the people only nod with their heads bare, but on other days they bow down their faces towards the earth.

He that celebrates, having first received the sacrament himself, presents it to his assistants, and afterwards to the people in this manner. If he has dipped the body of our Lord in the blood, he says, *Here is verily the body and blood of Emanuel, our God*. If it be not dipped, he only says, *Here is verily the body of Emanuel, our God. Amen*. The communicant answers, *Amen*. And in some churches, *We believe and confess it to the last breath of our lives*. Those who have communicated retire without turning their backs to the altar. If the priest shall by misfortune let one particle of the body, or one drop of the blood, fall to the ground, he is neither permitted to administer nor to receive the sacrament for 40 days, being obliged to abstain during that space from the use of fat meats, to rise and make 50 prostrations every night.

That they receive the communion in two kinds is not denied. This custom continued many ages among us, and was allowed the Bohemians by the council of Basile. The patriarch Alphonso Mendez wrote to the

King Basilides, that he was ready to indulge the Abyssins in it, but was answered that his concession came too late.

It is owned, that however free the Abyssins may be from any conformity in their notions of the eucharist with the enemies of the Roman church; yet with regard to confession, they are guilty of some errors. Three patriarchs who succeeded each other endeavoured to abolish confession, and gave Mark the son of Alkonbari, who appeared with great zeal in the defence of it, abundance of trouble. He through his behaviour, which was not the most regular, gave his adversaries great advantages over him in the controversy, yet had his followers, and confessed great numbers. They had found out a very extraordinary method of supplying the defect of this part of penance; the priest, after having burnt incense upon the altar, went round the church and perfumed the people, who imagined that they sufficiently confessed their sins by crying out, *I have sinned, I have sinned*. The priest on his part repeated some prayers, which were a kind of absolution. When corruptions crept in amongst them, and the priests began to abuse their power, complaints were made not only of the rigour of the penances which they imposed, but likewise of their indiscretion. Whereupon confession being found too heavy a yoke, was neglected; and instead of throwing themselves at the feet of a priest, they had recourse to the expedient of throwing incense into a censer with other perfumes, and murmuring a few words with their mouths in the smoke, and crying out, *I have sinned*, believing themselves absolved by that ceremony from all their faults. This superstition was called the *confession of the censer*.

Mark,

Mark, the son of Alkonbari, preached against so strange a manner of confession; he blamed the mixture of spices, affirming that frankincense only was to be used in churches, because it was offered by the magi to Jesus Christ. The preaching of Mark had a good effect upon his audience and himself. He discovered and detested the errors of the Jacobites, and became a convert, together with his auditors. This corruption, great as it was, continued under John the son of Abulserah and the two patriarchs his immediate successors, but was afterwards rectified; and the missionaries, who have often exaggerated the errors of the Abyssins, say nothing of this. They confess themselves seldom indeed; and instead of the penitent accusing himself, as among us, the priest there examines him upon every article, imposing the penance prescribed by the canons, which is commonly sufficiently severe. The priest then repeats several prayers over the penitent to implore God's pardon for him, and to obtain the spirit of compunction to be sent down upon him with a fervour and zeal necessary to perform the penance enjoined him. The Abyssins being of opinion that satisfaction is an essential part of this sacrament, the priest doth not give an entire absolution till the penance is performed, or at least the greatest part of it. A priest who has been guilty of any considerable fault cannot say mass till he has confessed, and is guilty of sacrilege: if he acts contrary to this precept, the penance imposed is generally twice as severe as that prescribed to a layman for the same fault.

The use of confession may have been interrupted by a corruption not less ancient than the Jacobite church, of which we may discover as satisfactory proof in the ninth century. The patriarch Sanutius or Cheneuda

had the weakness to absolve from excommunication a deacon of a disorderly life ; and being reproached with it by his secretary, made this answer : You do not know, my son, that he had the confidence to partake of the holy communion without first confessing his sin to God, imagining that by approaching that holy table he was reconciled to the church, and become a perfect Christian ; and that by receiving the sacrament his sins were forgiven him, depending on those words, *This is my body, eat it, that your sins may be forgiven you*; his crime on the contrary was much greater.

The learned Abbe, who hath given the world the history of the patriarchs of Alexandria, affirms, that the Cophtes never proceeded so far as to make any doubt of the necessity of confession and penance.

Severus, bishop of Aschmunein, who lived in the tenth century, has written a treatise on the method of making an efficacious confession : Wanleeb, who affirms that the Cophtes do not all agree in this point, cites some of those who have written against him. Michael bishop of Damiesha, who lived when this dispute was carried on with the greatest heat, was one of the most violent against confession ; Abulbaracat quotes several treatises written since on preparation for confession. Wanleeb adds, that he knows certainly that they do confess, tho' but rarely, not from contempt of the sacrament, but some from ignorance and stupidity, not knowing how they ought to confess ; others for fear of the long and severe penances imposed upon them.

We are told by Francis Alvarez, that Peter Covilhan never confessed to the Abyssin priests, because he had no opinion either of their discretion or their secrecy, and knew that they revealed the confessions made to them ;

them; and he tells us in another place, that they confess and communicate standing.

Father Tellez relates, that though the Abyssins hold confession to a priest necessary to obtain forgiveness of their sins committed after baptism, they are yet under many errors concerning it: for they do not confess till they are 25 years old, imagining themselves till then in the age of innocence; and they speak of one that dies at 16 or 17 years as we speak of an infant. When they confess, they content themselves with saying in general, *I have sinned, I intreat you to give me absolution.* And if they are pressed by the priest to particularise their faults, they desire him to examine them; and are asked by him whether they have committed murder or theft, and whether they have broken the fifth commandment, as if these were the only sins mankind is obnoxious to. And what is yet worse, the priest doth not give them absolution in the manner of the Latin church; but having repeated some words, strikes the penitent with an olive branch, of which they take care never to be without great plenty, that absolution may not be difficult to obtain. This last circumstance, on which Mr Ludolf has displayed his erudition by quoting the Roman poets, wherever father Tellez learned it, is not mentioned by the patriarch, with whose words we here present the reader.

“ SACRAMENTI penitentiae usum non exigui errores lacerabant, paucis peccatorum species et numerum exponentibus, generatimque dicentibus, peccavi, me absolve; et confessioni solutio congruebat. Attentior tamen confessorius aliquando rogabat à quibus accedentem esset exsoluturus. Ille vero addebat, mentitus sum, alienam famam vel uxorem violavi. Tunc ipsum in-

juncta multa liberum abire jubebat ; sed nemo, antequam illam penitus persolveret, sacro eucharistiæ epulo accumbebat, cum nonnunquam unum vel duos annos jejunare, et singulis diebus quinquaginta, vel centum vel omnes Davidis psalmos recitare juberetur. Unde ortum, ne moribundis eadem synaxis præbeatur ; cum putent nihil ipsis profuturam confessionem, si defit tempus ad satisfactionis cumulum addendum. Illâ nemo, ante vicessimum quintum ætatis annum, quem innocentiae terminum credebant, animi fordes eluebat. Tales vero tantum rebantur mechari, occidere et aliena furari, nec tamen ulla cuiquam redhibitio imponebatur ; sed novi apud eos juris regula nigebat ; ut non dimitteretur peccatum, quin restitueretur ablatum. Cum solutâ scortari adeo erat innoxium, ut cum duo pacti essent per totam hyemen vel æstatem congregari, clericum adirent, ut interposito anathemate, vetaret ne ille ad alteram, vel illa ad alterum abiret, et maritus ad prælium discedens uxorem præcaretur, ut quam vellet expedissequis, vel ancillis, sibi in militarem morem designaret, cum qua libidinari nihil erat ante Deum piaculi, vel in vicinia offensionis, quo minus singulis diebus Dominicis angelorum pane, ut et prædicti reficeretur ; plerisque vera hujus sacramenti forma latebat, duæ communiores precationem, una tantum aliquam judicialis sententiæ formam exhibebat. Illæ erant : N. serve Dei, mittat te peccatum, illudque tibi Jesus Christus Petri et Pauli ore demittat ; teque ab illius vinculo liberum reddat. N. serve Dei, Paracletus, venia largitor, omnia tua peccata deleat. Ista : Solvatur tibi peccatum tuum ore Domini nostri Jesu Christi, sanctorum Petri et Pauli ; et tercentum decem et octo patrum qui rectæ fidei fuerunt. Duas priores formas ne-



gaces fuisse, nemo dubitabit ; num tertia probanda sit, theologis controversum.”

It is easy to discover from this account of the patriarch, that though some corruptions with respect to the sacrament of penance have been introduced, yet auricular confession is practised among the Ethiopians; that there are some among them skilful enough to distinguish the circumstances of sins, *peccatorum species*; and that they consider the number, *et numerum*; that there are confessors who examine their penitents about other sins, than murder, theft, and adultery, who demand whether they have been guilty of lies and calumny; and that they impose severe and long penances, agreeable to the canons observed among them.

Father du Bernat tells us, that with regard to the sacrament of penance, there is an exact conformity of belief between the Cophtes and the Romanists, with a difference of ceremony and custom. As to belief, they hold themselves obliged to confess to the priest their particular sins, with the number of them; after which the confessor repeats a form of prayer to implore pardon and remission of sins, and a second prayer answerable to that said by us after the absolution. What he terms the difference of ceremony is the precatory form made use of by the Cophtes and Greeks in giving the absolution. He adds, that he endeavoured to give himself farther satisfaction by enquiring of the priests, whether in the administration of this sacrament they expressed nothing in positive terms; and was informed, that the penitent, before he goes away, says, *I have sinned, my father, give me absolution*; and is answered by the priest, *Be thou absolved from thy sins*.

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The same father having complained of the indulgence of the confessors, owns, that in scandalous sins they are more severe, and oblige them to perform the penance enjoined, at least in part, before they give them absolution; but this is a case that rarely happens: they act in the same manner with those who are enemies to each other, and compel them to a reconciliation.

Alvarez relates, that he knew one in Ethiopia, named *Ababitag*, who had been several years excluded from the sacraments for having three wives; that he discarded two and kept the third, being thereupon admitted into the church, as a partaker of the sacraments, as if he had never had above one wife.

In short, whatever Mr Ludolf may say with all his Ethiopic learning, the Abyssins, like us, hold the sacrament of penance and auricular confession, which is part of it. They believe with us, that Jesus Christ is really and essentially present in the eucharist, which they adore and receive like us, but in two kinds. The insinuating questions of Mr Ludolf to Gregory prove nothing but his insincerity; and Gregory answers nothing but his ignorance.



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## DISSERTATION XIII.

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### EXTREME UNCTION, ORDINATION, AND MARRIAGE.

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**T**HE Cophtes, the Syrian Jacobites, the Nestorians or Melchites, call what the Greeks term *euchelaion* and the *extreme unction*, *kandil* or *zeis el katidil*, that is, the lamp or oil of the lamp. An account of the manner in which this sacrament is administered among them will be a sufficient explanation of the name. Several priests take the oil of a lamp of seven branches, over which they have repeated some psalms and prayers, and anoint the sick with it, not in his bed, or at home, but in the church, to which he is carried before he comes to the last extremity.

All the Orientals say that this practice was instituted by Christ himself, when he sent out his apostles by two and two to preach the gospel, giving them power over unclean spirits. The apostles drove out the unclean spirits, and anointing the sick with oil, cured them. That in conformity with that practice the apostle St. James, ch. v. ver. 14. says, *Is any sick among you? let him call for the elders*

*elders of the church, and let them pray over him, anointing him with oil in the name of the Lord; and the prayer of faith shall save the sick, and the Lord shall raise him up; and if he have committed sins, they shall be forgiven him.* The ritual of Gabriel patriarch of the Jacobites, prescribes the manner of the administration of this sacrament.

“ A lamp of seven branches, filled with good oil of Palestine, is set near the image of the blessed Virgin, and the gospel and cross are placed near it: The priests assemble to the number of seven (though the number is of no strict importance); and the eldest of them begins the thanksgiving in the liturgy of St Basil, and burns incense before the reading of the epistle of St Paul; then they all repeat *kyrie eleeson*, the Lord's prayer, the 31st psalm, the prayer that is in the liturgy for the sick, and the others set down in the office of extreme unction. These being ended, he lights one of the branches, making the sign of the cross upon the oil, and in the mean time the others sing psalms. After he has ended the prayers for the diseased, and read a lesson out of the epistle general of St James, with the *sanctus*, *Gloria Patri*, and the prayer of the gospel, he says a psalm alternately with another priest, and then reads a gospel, the three prayers that follow in the liturgy, one to the Father, another for peace, another general; then the Nicene creed and the prayer that follows it.

Then the second priest begins the benediction of his branch, and lights it, making the sign of the cross; then says the Lord's prayer, and three others of the liturgy, reading a lesson from St Paul, and one from the gospel, with a psalm and a particular prayer for the sick. The same prayers are repeated by the other priests

priests in their order ; so that in this ceremony, as the author of *Ecclesiastic Science* observes, they read seven lessons from the epistles, seven from the gospels, seven psalms, and seven particular prayers, besides those set down in the liturgy.

When all this is ended, he on whose account the lamp is blessed, if his strength will permit, approaches and sits down with his face turned towards the east. The priests, putting the gospel and the cross upon his head, lay their hands on him. The eldest priest having said the proper prayers, makes the sick stand up, and with the book of the gospels gives him his benediction ; and then the Lord's prayer is repeated. Afterwards the book is opened, and the passage read to him which first occurs. They rehearse the creed, and three prayers ; after which they raise the cross over the head of the sick, and pronounce the general absolution out of the liturgy. If the time will allow, they afterwards say other prayers, and make a procession in the church, with the blessed lamp and lighted tapers, to implore God to cure the sick by the intercession of the martyrs and other saints. If the sick be not in a condition to be brought himself near the altar, another is substituted in his place. After the procession, the priests anoint the sick and each other. The assistants likewise receive an unction, but performed in a different manner from that on the sick."

Wandelb gives the same account in his *History of the Church of Alexandria*, except that he says nothing of the procession or that which follows ; but affirms that they anoint the sick seven days ; a practice formerly in use among the Latins, as appears from the sacramentary of St Gregory, and the notes of the learned benedictine Hugh Menard.

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It is nevertheless probable from the letter of Father du Bernat, that either the avarice or ignorance of the priests has introduced some abuses with regard to this sacrament. That learned and pious missionary's account of it is in general this :

The sacrament which we call the *extreme unction*, is called by them the *holy unction*, or *kandil*, that is the *lamp* ; which being commanded by St James to be used to the sick, is, by means of a distinction of the sick, into the sick of diseases, of sins, and of afflictions, applied by them, as by the Greeks, to all sorts of persons. Their manner of administering it is this : the priest, assisted by the deacon, having pronounced the absolution to the sick, burns the incense, and taking a lamp, blesses the oil and lights the wick ; then says seven prayers, between each of which the deacon reads a lesson taken from the epistle of St James and other parts of scripture. Then the priest, taking the holy oil from the lamp, anoints the forehead of the diseased, with these words, *God beal you in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost*. Nor is this all ; for an unction is likewise performed on the assistants, lest, say they, the evil spirit might enter into one of them : so great is their ignorance. According to the ritual, this ceremony is performed by seven priests, each of which lights his wick. If there be a bishop present with six priests, it belongs to his office to light the seven wicks, and say seven prayers, the priests only reading the lessons. The same rites are observed whether the sacrament be administered in the church after confession or in the house of the sick.

Father Goar, that learned Dominican, who after having resided so long among the Greeks, has favoured the world with so many excellent works, has observed,

in his notes on the euchology, that the sick were not always carried to church to receive extreme unction, and that it was sometimes administered to them at home and in their bed. He doth not condemn the custom among the priests of anointing each other and the assistants, after having administered the extreme unction, with the same oil. But he and Arcudius, together with the Abbe Renaudot, maintain, that neither the priests nor the others imagine that they by that means receive extreme unction, and that what they do with so much devotion is only to show their respect to the holy oil. So that neither Mr Ludolf, nor any other Protestant, can conclude, that the Greeks and orientals do not reckon extreme unction among their sacraments.

Mr Ludolf, it is true, supports his opinion by the testimonies of Father Godigno, and the patriarch Alphonso Mendez ; but he had at the same time the contrary account of Wansleb his scholar before his eyes, who had been, as he knew, in Egypt, and had visited the chief monasteries there, had read many manuscripts, held long conferences with the Cophites, and written his history of their church under the immediate inspection of the patriarch. He ought certainly, in this case, to have distrusted the missionaries, whose relations he professes in other cases to depend so little on. He ought to have consulted their rituals and catechisms, or at least his Gregory. Instead of this caution, he resigns himself with the most implicit credulity to the accounts of the patriarch, and the fathers Tellez and Godigno. *Comment.* p. 267. So that it seems the missionaries are only to be believed when they favour the Lutherans and Calvinists.

The opinion of the Cophites or Jacobites concerning  
marriage

marriage cannot be better explained than by the account of Father du Bernat; which I here give from his own letter.

“ What now remains, Reverend Father, is to give you an account of what relates to their marriages. The single reading of the ritual sufficiently proves that the Cophtes hold marriage to be a real sacrament; mention being made in all the prayers of the grace of Jesus Christ conferred in it. When two persons have agreed to enter into this state, the priest going to their house examines whether there be any impediments, and betroths them by repeating several prayers. The pair then go to church, where they are confessed by the priest, who after long prayers, asks whether they are agreed to accept each other. Consent being given on each side, they hear mass and communicate.

“ See here a sacrament celebrated with much solemnity; to which it were to be wished the Cophtes had somewhat more regard, and that either they understood with more exactness that binding obligation, or rather that they would confine themselves to the observation of it. For not only in case of adultery, but even of long sickness, or upon casual aversions, or quarrels about domestic affairs, and often upon some disgust, they cut the sacred marriage knot; a liberty taken by the wife no less than the husband. The party which attempts the dissolution of the marriage, first applies to the patriarch, or to the bishop, to desire it; who, after trying some persuasions to the contrary, consents. The same party then comes again for a permission to contract a second marriage, which is easily obtained. If it should at any time fall out that the reasons alleged for a separation are too frivolous to be allowed, if they can prevail on any priest to be so complaisant



plaisant as to marry them, they are excused by being excluded some time from the sacraments."

This is the French missionary, whom we oppose to those of Portugal, when they affirm that the marriages of the Abyssins cannot be called marriages, since the bride and bridegroom seldom come together without an intention of parting upon the first opportunity. The ceremony of marriage is not performed in secret, but publicly. They receive the communion when they are married, and believe that by communicating they are made one body. If the marriage be not solemnized before a priest, it is to be declared void.

Alvarez hath described the ceremony of a marriage at which he assisted. It was performed by the Abuna or patriarch. The man and woman were at the door of the church, where a kind of bed was prepared, on which the Abuna made them sit down, going round them in procession with the cross and censer; then laying his hands on their heads, he told them, that as they were now become one flesh, they ought to be of one heart and one mind; and after having made a short exhortation to the same purpose, proceeded to say mass, being assisted by the bridegroom and bride, who afterwards received the nuptial benediction. These marriages are firm and binding, nor to be dissolved but upon strong reasons; nor do the meaner people often indulge themselves in those scandalous separations too frequent among persons of quality.

The easy dissolution of marriages, and polygamy, too frequent among these nations, are probably Jewish superstitions; which the Jacobite church doth not appear to approve, since she denies the sacrament to those persons who have more wives than one. The Jacobites have the same notions with us of the essentiality

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tiality of a priest to the solemnization of marriage, and agreeable to our usage, say mass and give the communion.

They have likewise another custom of crowning the bridegroom and bride. The crowns being placed on their heads with great ceremony by the priest, are worn eight days, and then taken off with equal ceremony and as many prayers. From this practice, the sacrament of marriage is called by Greeks, and all the orientals, *the coronation*; and the unlawful marriages are termed *marriages without a coronation*; a proof that they look on the ministry of the priest as necessary to that sacrament.

It now remains that we speak of the sacrament of ordination. Though the Abyssins, through their servile dependence on the patriarch of Alexandria, have been almost whole ages without an Abuna, yet there is no reason to think that the succession has been interrupted, unless in the patriarchs themselves. The Abuna, who is ordained and sent into Ethiopia by the authority only of that patriarch, is the only person who confers orders, and makes readers, deacons, or priests. The manner of conferring orders has been so little spoken of by the missionaries, that Father Tellez was obliged to refer us to the writings of Alvarez.

We are informed by Alvarez, that he assisted at the ordination of two thousand three hundred and fifty-six persons, and that it was less numerous than usual, because the coming of the Abuna had not been sufficiently published; and generally five or six thousand were ordained at one time. A white tent was fitted up, and the Abuna came, with a great number of attendants, upon his mule, upon which he sat while he made a short harangue in Arabic, that if any of those who

came to receive orders had more than one wife, he should retire on pain of excommunication : after which he alighted and sat down by his tent ; while some of the priests placed those who came for ordination in three rows, examining them at the same time only whether they could read, by presenting them a book, and marking them according to their approbation of them upon the arm : those that were so marked ranged themselves together. The examination being over, the Abuna entered his tent, and laid his hand upon the head of each, repeating in the Coptic language this prayer, *Gratia divina quæ infirma Sanat, &c.* After each particular priest had been ordained in this manner, the Abuna said many prayers, and gave many benedictions with a little iron cross ; the priest read the epistle and gospel, and the Abuna, saying mass, gave the communion to all the priests.

Alvarez objected to the king that they dishonoured the priesthood by admitting the blind and lame ; and that they were guilty of the highest offence against decency, in suffering the candidates for orders to stand entirely naked, without even covering that which modesty requires to be concealed.

The same Alvarez writes, that they confer the sub-deaconship and inferior orders without any examination, and even on infants at the breast, and on children at any time to the age of fifteen. They must be unmarried to be made clerks, but they take wives before they assume the priesthood, because a priest cannot marry.

They who would be ordained clerks or sub-deacons pass in a row before the Abuna as he sits in a chair in the midst of the church. He crops their hair, makes them touch the church keys, puts a napkin on their heads,

heads, and the vessels used at the communion in their hands, as a token that they are to serve at the altar. This ceremony ended, the Abuna says mass, and admits those whom he has ordained to the communion.

This account is sufficiently conformable to the answers of Tecla Mariam, when he was examined at Rome concerning this ordination. “ I was fifteen years old (said he) when the archbishop gave me the first orders. He cropped my hair in five places in form of a cross, repeating in the Coptic language some prayers which I did not understand, anointed my forehead with oil, and then said mass.” Tecla Mariam, not being able to give a satisfactory answer to all the questions which were put to him, was re-ordained.

This re-ordination was not approved by those who understood the state of the eastern church. The Abyssins, no less than the Cophtes and Greeks, give nearly the same definition of ordination as we; agreeing that it is a sacred mark, accompanied with many solemn ceremonies, with which the bishop, by the imposition of hands, confers on the persons ordained a portion of grace convenient for the ecclesiastical office to which they are raised.

They believe with us that episcopacy, the priesthood and deaconship, were instituted by Jesus Christ, and delivered down to us by the apostles and their successors; that this sacrament is necessary for supplying the church with ministers; that a man not ordained according to that institution cannot consecrate the eucharist, or perform any office of a priest. If the priests have ever been obliged in Abyssinia to perform the offices of bishops, it hath proceeded from ignorance or indiscreet zeal. Their canons direct that the priest shall

shall be found in all his limbs, a man of learning, of a good character, and reputable family. Neither slaves nor bastards, nor even those born of a second marriage, can be admitted to orders.

The Abuna is charged with conferring the priesthood on unworthy persons, and not only of neglecting to observe a proper distance of time between the different orders, but of conferring several at one time; a practice contrary to all discipline ancient and modern.

Whatever the missionaries, and after them Father Balthasar Tellez, may say, there is no denying the validity of the orders conferred by the Abuna according to the practice of the eastern Christians: and there is reason to wish that the patriarch Alphonso Mendez had, before he repeated baptism and holy orders, consulted on that subject some wise and learned persons, versed in the knowledge of antiquity and the practice of the eastern church.

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## DISSERTATION XIV.

### ON THE

#### INVOCATION OF SAINTS, MIRACLES, PRAYERS FOR THE DEAD, FASTS, IMAGES, AND RELICS.

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**H**AVING shown the conformity of the Abyssinian belief concerning the sacraments with ours, it remains, that to complete our undertaking, we prove that Mr Ludolf has dealt unfairly on other points of controversy, by showing the sentiments of the Abyssinians and their practice, with regard to prayer for the dead, invocation of saints, miracles, relicks, the distinction of meats and fasts, and tradition; all which are points on which we reproach the Protestants with errors.

Mr Ludolf, who had so many liturgies in his hands, which he ought to have made public, could not be unacquainted with the prayers which they use for the dead.

In the mass attributed to St Basil, the priest, after the commemoration of the saints, goes on. “Remember likewise, O Lord, the priests and laymen; grant, Lord, that their souls may repose in the bosom of the  
saints

saints Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob : send them into that happy place, where refreshing waters may be found ; into that paradise of delights, from whence are banished all sighs, sadness, and sorrow of heart, and where they may rejoice in the light of thy saints. Remember, O Lord, our fathers and our brethren who have died in the true faith ; give them rest with thy saints, and with those whom we have now commemorated : give rest to sinners, and remember those who have made these offerings, and those for whom they are made. Remember, O Lord, those who have died in the true faith of our fathers and our brethren ; grant that their souls may rest with the saints and the just : conduct them, and assemble them in a pleasant place near cool and living water, in a paradise of delight, and with those whose names we have now repeated."

Alvarez, who satisfies himself with telling what he was an eye-witness of, speaking of the obsequies in use among the Abyssins, says, that when they have brought the body into the church, they throw it immediately into the grave, without singing, saying any thing of our office for the dead, or celebrating any mass for the sinner ; that they sanctify themselves with sprinkling the body with holy water, perfuming it with incense, and reading the gospel of St John.

The Abyssins have no particular masses for the dead, and do not change the order of their service, but they always use prayers and commemorations for the dead ; and in the collection of canons, which they pretend to have been extracted from the constitution of St Clement, it is directed, that sacrifice shall be offered, and prayers said for the dead, on the third and seventh days, and at the end of the month and of the year. And in

the statutes of the patriarch Christodulus, who lived about the middle of the eleventh century, it is ordered, that on Palm-Sunday after mass, shall be read a lesson out of the epistles of St Paul, the gospel, and the prayers for the dead.

He then adds, “ It is neither convenient nor allowable for Christians to lament or wear mourning for the dead on Sundays, but the litanies and mass shall be used for them, and prayers shall be said, and alms given, that God may have mercy on the souls of the deceased.”

Though the Abyssins do not entirely agree among themselves about the state of the soul after its separation from the body, they yet all acquiesce in this opinion, that to enjoy eternal felicity the Divine justice must first be satisfied ; and that the prayers said and good works done for the dead supply the defect of what they had omitted in their lives, provided they have not made themselves unworthy of them.

Those who read the answers given by the Abyssin Gregory to Mr Ludolf's questions, B. III. will hardly entertain any high opinion of his genius or capacity. Mr Ludolf doth not allow that the Abyssins pray to the saints, but ascribes the notions which prevail among them in this point to the pathetic discourses of their bishops, who, by a rhetorical apostrophe, address themselves to the saints, and introduce them speaking: and thus, according to Mr Ludolf, the corrupt custom of invoking the saints was introduced among the Abyssins.

Mr Ludolf, when he wrote this, had his mind intent upon somewhat else, or did not know that the Abyssins have only one Metropolitan, and no other bishops; that this Metropolitan is a foreigner, who ei-  
ther



ther doth not understand the language, or at least understands it very imperfectly, and never preaches: The invocation of saints, if it be a corruption, is a corruption of long continuance, since we hold it in common with nations which have been near 1200 years in a state of separation from the church of Rome.

The same may be said of miracles, of images, and the veneration paid to relicks. Their books are filled with histories of miracles; they repair to the tombs of their saints, and consult them, and receive answers from them.

They set down in their kalendar the feasts of the translation of the bodies of saints, for which I appeal to Mr Ludolf; and to the kalendar which he has given us.

The 1st of January St Stephen, the first martyr. The Cophtes make this day the feast of the discovery of his body, and place the feast of this martyrdom on the 19th of September. About this my Abyssin owns there is a dispute.

The 22d of the same month, The translation of the body of Timothy, which the Alexandrians affirm to have been carried to the church of the holy apostles at Constantinople.

The 28th, The translation of the body of Ephraim the Syrian.

The 30th, The translation of the bones of 49 martyrs.

The 31st, The emergence of the body of Hippolytus out of the sea.

In the month of February, The translation of the body of Joseph. The translation of the body of Mar-  
cian. The discovery of the head of St John.

If

If we should go through the rest of the kalendar, we should find more days set apart for the commemoration of these translations than in ours.

As for miracles, Mr Ludolf will not deny that they can supply us with an endless number. “ But of their saints (says he, Hist. B. 3d.), they relate most astonishing miracles ; it being little more than common among them to have mountains removed, the tempestuous ocean quieted, the dead raised, water drawn by a stroke from the rock, and rivers passed over without being wet.” He thereupon makes this beautiful remark in his commentaries, “ The wiser doctors of the church of Rome acknowledge that miracles without sound doctrine are not sufficient to prove the truth of any church or religion.”

In that we are agreed; but that is not our present business, which is to know, whether the Abyssins, like us, believe that God sometimes works miracles to make the glory of his saints manifest, and to show that he doth not disapprove the worship paid to them.

They have no carved images, but their churches are full of pictures ; among which there is a picture pretended by them to have been sent by Jesus Christ to King Abgarus, and one of the blessed Virgin drawn by St Luke.

Father du Bernat, speaking of the Jacobites, says, “ They have, without comparison, more respect for images than we ; they prostrate themselves before them, and after having touched them respectfully with their hand, rub their eyes and face with it. I shall remark by the way, that these people did not probably borrow the veneration paid by them to images from the Greeks, from whom they have so much aversion ;  
and

and that it is consequently very ancient in the church of Alexandria. They have indeed none but pictures, but I never found any among them who condemned the use of images, or was not willing to pay them the same honour."

Alvarez, in his description of the monastery of Bisan, assures us that it is full of painting, and that the church is hung round with the figures of the patriarchs and apostles, and that of St George on horseback, which is to be seen in almost every church; that there is in this a great piece of satin, on which is drawn a crucifix, the Virgin, the patriarchs, prophets, and apostles; and that many other pictures are preserved there, which are never exposed but on festivals. These pictures, says Wansleb, are never shown till they are blessed, and are all extremely modest.

Some examples may be of force to convince the most incredulous Protestant of the respect which the Abyssins, so long separated from the church of Rome, have for images. Afaba, the eldest son of Abdel-Aziz the governor, going into the church of Holovan, spit in contempt upon a picture of the blessed Virgin holding our Saviour in her arms: the night after, he had a dreadful vision; in which he thought himself carried before a judge seated on a throne, and encompassed with soldiers clothed in white, where Jesus Christ came and demanded justice for the insult offered him by Afaba; upon which one of the soldiers stabbed him with a lance. When he awaked he found himself in a high fever, and died immediately. A Mahometan having pierced a crucifix with his lance, imagined that he had received the blow and was fixed to the crucifix; nor could he be recovered till he had promised to become a  
Chri-

**Christian.** Stranger stories than these are not to be met with in our legends.

It is well known what stories the Abyssins have believed, and even what they continue to believe, about the ark and the rod of Moses, which they imagine are preserved amongst them.

As the kings of Nubia and Abyssinia encamp or travel with their whole family, they have obtained from the patriarch of Alexandria to have a moveable altar, that they may not, wherever they are, be without the celebration of the mass. This altar is carried with great ceremony, agreeably to the genius and custom of the people, who have a great veneration for every thing made use of for the service of the altar, as sufficiently appears by the solemnity with which the *kurban* or consecrated bread is made. None enter the church otherwise than with their feet bare. The sanctuary is not open to any except the priests and deacons, who would think themselves guilty of a great sin if they should spit in it.

Mr Ludolf, who loses no opportunity of displaying his vast learning, has taken care to tell us, that in the first dawn of Christianity, when the church mourned under the oppression of heathen emperors, the divine mysteries were distributed on tables placed in the burying-yards, and made in the shape of a coffin, which they filled with the bones of dead Christians, from whence proceeded the veneration for relicks. He was so enamoured of this thought that he has procured this coffin to be engraved; and imagines, that from hence the Abyssins call the altars which they carry with them by the name of *arks*. It is, methinks, more natural to suppose, that this nation being firmly persuaded  
that

that they have had the ark of the covenant from time immemorial in their church of Axuma, and having for their moveable altars a veneration not very different from that of the Jews for their ark, have given them the same name *Tabout*.

There hath yet appeared no great conformity between the religion of the Abyssins and Protestants, nor will there appear more in what we have to add. Anciently the Abyssins went in large troops to visit the holy places; and Alvarez assures us, that in his time there was a great conflux of people at the tombs of Aba Licanos and Aba Gariman: There is no country in the world in which there are so many churches and monasteries, or such numbers of religious. The monks are confined to the observance of the strictest rules. Fasting and abstinence is carried here to the greatest height; even so far that it is not easy to believe what Alvarez has written upon that subject. During the great lent they neither eat butter nor milk, nor any thing that has had life. They fast all the holy week upon bread and water; every Wednesday and Friday of lent, many of the religious, as well women as men, spend the night in the frozen pools up to the neck in water; they always wear the hair-cloth and iron-chains, which often enter so deep into the skin that they cannot be seen: They eat only every other day. Thus lent is observed throughout Abyssinia, men, women, and children fasting with great exactness; so that the king being once encamped near his enemies in lent, his soldiers were so weakened and macerated by the severities of that season, that they were unable to defend themselves. Mass is never celebrated on those days till evening; and they who communicate generally do it

it fasting. The lent lasts there 50 days. They fast in advent with almost the same rigour as in lent, and the life of a religious among them is a perpetual abstinence.

The missionaries, notwithstanding, never left declaiming with very little prudence against the corrupt lives of the monks, even going so far as to declare that they spent more time with the women than in their convents: they confounded the good with the bad; and by their undistinguishing reproaches and severe reflections, made all the religious rise against them, who brought upon them the general detestation of the whole empire.

Alvarez is more sparing of his reprehensions, and has been just in giving those monks, who lived a life of true penitence, their due commendations: but had the corruption been greater and more universal even than the missionaries pretended, the rules of the orders still continued the same, and by those rules they ought to have judged of their profession. When the monastic life was first introduced into Abyssinia is not known; some are of opinion that Frumentius the apostle and first bishop of the Abyssins might have brought with him into that kingdom some disciples of the great St Antony, that solitary saint, whose name is held in great veneration there. Others imagine that it was first practised in this empire in the reign of Amiamid, supporting their notion by the chronicle of Axuma, which relates, that in his time great numbers of monks from Greece and Egypt spread themselves over all the empire; that nine of them fixed in the kingdom of Tigre, where each built a church.

In the time of the patriarch Benjamin, a new colony of monks, entirely Jacobites, was sent thither, and by  
their

their means it was that the sect so soon prevailed over all the country. They had at their head Tecla-Hemanot, who was esteemed a saint among them. It is not probable that the Abyssins have ever since that time received any Catholic monk, whatever may be said on that subject by the Fathers Lewis de Angelis, Augustin, Francis, John Dos-Sanctor, and lastly by Wansleb.

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## DISSERTATION XV.

### ON THE

### HIERARCHY OR GOVERNMENT OF THE CHURCH OF ETHIOPIA.

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**W**HOEVER reads Mr Ludolf's history of Ethiopia, will discover that it is undertaken with no other intention than to show, on one side, the difference between the Roman church and the Alexandrian; and on the other, the conformity of the Alexandrian with the Protestant churches. We are told by him, B. II. ch. 9. that the Emperor of Ethiopia has an unlimited authority as well in religious as civil matters, over the church no less than the state; and he endeavours to prove his assertion by reminding us of what Sultan Segued did *for* and *against the* Jesuits, whom he called into his empire, and banished out of it, without consulting the patriarch of Alexandria. That prince, continues he, has, notwithstanding the patriarch, the whole ecclesiastical jurisdiction in his own hands, and assembles the councils or synods of his kingdom. "It may be proper (says Mr Ludolf, B. III. c. 7.) to examine here in what manner the church of Abyssinia is governed.



governed. We have said already that the king is vested with all the ecclesiastical authority, and that the judges appointed by him take cognizance of all sorts of affairs, and that none are exempt from their examination except some trifling causes; ecclesiastical immunities are unknown in that country, and neither the clergy nor the monks have any privilege of exemption: The canon *siquis suadente diabolo* was never heard of here, nor does any thing hinder their being punished by secular judges; they are often treated injuriously without any dread of excommunication." For this Mr Ludolf quotes the testimony of Father Balthasar Tellez. He knows not to what lengths the immunity of ecclesiastics has been carried in Spain and Portugal, where it has scarcely been heard of, that a priest or monk has suffered death even for the most enormous crimes: A priest bred in these prejudices looks upon the punishment of an ecclesiastic as a violation of all laws divine and human, and calls that injury and violence which was done by a severe and exact administration of justice, for the preservation of tranquillity and the public welfare. The patriarch Alphonso Mendez was extremely offended at what the Emperor thought he had no right to complain of, that the prince had by his own authority ordered the interment of the general of St Anthony's order, who had relapsed before his death. His remonstrances on this occasion were the original of those quarrels, which produced consequences so fatal to the mission and missionaries.

There is not in the world a monarch more absolute than the Emperor of Ethiopia, who hath nevertheless no authority in ecclesiastical affairs, nor has any right so much as to enter the sanctuary, unless he be invested with holy orders. It is for this reason that the emper-

rors of Ethiopia are generally made deacons, and some of them priests. The church of Abyffinia is governed by the Metropolitan whom they call *Abuna*, that is, our Father; and this Metropolitan has no other bishop subordinate to him. He is named and consecrated by the patriarch of Alexandria; who, to keep this church in a more absolute dependance, never gives them a prelate of their own country: so that the Abuna, neither understanding the language, nor being able to make himself understood, it may easily be conceived how the church is governed, and with what justice the pastor may say, *I know my sheep, and my sheep know me*. Yet ignorant and unacquainted as he was with the people, he has formerly had so much power, that no man was acknowledged as king till he had been consecrated by the hands of the Abuna. So essential was this once thought, that the Abuna has sometimes made use of this power to exclude usurpers and preserve the regal dignity to the true prince; a proof of which we have in the history of the patriarchs of Alexandria, which was neither known to Father Tellez nor Mr Ludolf.

In the life of John the 72d patriarch of Alexandria, it is related, that a prince of the House of Zague being refused consecration by the Abuna, demanded of the patriarch of Alexandria another Metropolitan; he whom they then had being so old that he could not any longer execute the duties of his office. The patriarch, who was acquainted with his intention, answered, that it was not allowed by the canons to ordain a bishop for any place without the consent of him who was then in possession of the see; and chose rather to undergo a long and severe imprisonment from the Grand Vizier, whom the Emperor of Ethiopia had gained over to him, than to  
act

act contrary to his duty. Another king pressing the Metropolitan Michael to consecrate more than seven bishops, and being answered by him that he could not do it without the consent of the patriarch of Alexandria, wrote on that affair to the patriarch and sultan; and not being able to obtain what he demanded, persecuted and banished the Metropolitan. But the disapprobation of heaven was soon visible in the many calamities with which the kingdom was afflicted without ceasing, till the king acknowledged his fault, renounced his pretensions, and implored pardon of the Alexandrian patriarch.

The Abuna Kilus having made himself notoriously infamous by many crimes, Lalibala, one of the most virtuous kings that the Abyssins ever enjoyed, could not bear that they should go unchastised, and demanded of the patriarch of Alexandria that he should punish him. Kilus went into Egypt to clear himself of the crimes alleged against him; but his pleas being found insufficient, he was deposed with great ceremony at Cairo. The patriarch consecrated Isaac, who was received in Ethiopia with greater honours than had ever been paid to any Abuna.

No one can imagine that if the kings of Abyssinia had an absolute power in ecclesiastical affairs and over their clergy, they would have recourse to a foreign power to punish their Abuna, when he stood charged with notorious crimes; or that they would remain so many ages in a mean and troublesome dependance on the patriarchs of Alexandria, especially when they have been almost whole ages without an Abuna, and consequently without priests and all kinds of spiritual assistances.

When they call councils or assemble synods, they do

no more than was done by the Emperors Constantine and Theodosius, and is done at this day by Christian princes, when they call their clergy together upon any necessity of the church or state; who yet are not said to lay their hands on the censor, or to have the same power over the church as the state.

The Abuna is in possession of a large extent of lands, which yield him a considerable revenue, and the more because in this country, where every man is in a state of servitude, his farmers are exempt from tribute, or pay it only to him, except in some lands which he holds in the kingdom of Tigre, by paying a rent of 500 crowns to the king; a tax laid upon him by King Theodore, and called *Eda Abuna*, or the Abuna's acknowledgment. They still make a collection for him of salt and linen cloth, which rises to a considerable value. In spiritual matters he owns no other superior than the patriarch of Alexandria, and has little correspondence even with him after he is ordained. He is named first after him in all the public prayers; and is honoured with the seventh or eighth seat in the Arabic collection of canons called the *canons of Nice*. His dignity, though he has not a single bishop under him, places him above the Metropolitans; and probably when this rank was first assigned him, regard was had to the extent of his diocese. Dispensations are only granted by him; and several have been so avaricious that they have carried that power much farther than is allowed by the canons.

The Abuna is in some respects a patriarch, in others he is not; nor can we better inform the reader of the extent of his authority, or of his rank, than by referring him to the canon already set down in the Ninth Dissertation.

We have shown, in the explication of those canons, the melancholy and vexatious dependance of the Abyssinian church, and the abuses and corruptions which are in some degree the necessary consequences of such a state, which the princes certainly, had they any power over their clergy, or did they believe it lawful for them to intermeddle in ecclesiastical affairs, would not have borne so long. This servitude is nevertheless as ancient as the church of Abyssinia, and hath continued from the time they were first blessed with the light of the gospel.

The Abuna therefore acknowledges the patriarch of Alexandria as his superior in these affairs, and acknowledges none but him.

The prelates which are sent thither, are incapable of instructing the people, since they neither understand the language nor the customs of the country. Their whole office is to ordain priests yet more ignorant than themselves, and often of corrupt morals; from hence proceed all those errors and abuses with which we so justly reproach the Abassins.

The komos, or hegumos, are the first ecclesiastical order after the bishops; and as there are no bishops in Ethiopia, the komos acknowledge no order above themselves, and precede all the other priests. “Hegumenus ejusdem ordinis est atque archipapas sacerdotum seu archypresbyter, atque adeo jus habet pronuntiandi orationem absolutionis super sacerdotem celebrantem, ut etiam adolendi incensum post eum, et communionem accipiendi ab eo, ante omnes alios. Quando simul adest, episcopus accipit ab eo thuribulum.” A priest cannot be ordained a bishop among the Cophtes unless he be first a komos or hegumenos, which is not the same with the sub-presbyter, affirm-

ed by Mr Ludolf to be the priest or the deacon: This sub-prefbyter is the same with what we call assisting priests when mass is celebrated with greater solemnity.

Low masses, or particular masses, are not known in Abyssinia, where mass is celebrated only in one manner by the priest accompanied with many priests and deacons. Alvarez writes, that the Abyssins, although they did not absolutely condemn our practice, were astonished at the manner in which the Portuguese celebrated the divine mysteries; and were particularly surprised to find that they did not go barefoot to the church, and that they spit in it. The monks never marry. It is pretended that there are two sorts of them, one of which forms a congregation under their general, who resided anciently at Debra Libanos; but that monastery being much exposed to the incursions of the Gallas, he left it to establish himself and his monks in the kingdom of Bagameder. The others have the same common rule, but their monasteries have no dependence on each other. They are for the most part in great credit, and monks are often employed in the most important affairs of state. The former ascribe their institution to the famous Tecla Haimanout, whose feast they celebrate with much solemnity on the 24th of August and the 24th of December; and in the month of May they commemorate the translation of his relics. He is believed by the Abyssins to have worked a great number of miracles. The other monks claim Eustatius for their founder, to whose honour in July they celebrate a festival.

There are likewise two sorts of hermits; some who choose that kind of life, that they may in some measure be more at liberty; and others who quit their convents

with

with the leave of their superiors, to lead a life of greater austerity in solitude.

There is no doubt that the monks make vows, though they do not always keep them with sufficient exactness.

The patriarch Alphonso Mendez relates, that he inquired of Azage Tixo, secretary to the king of Ethiopia, who had been a monk, if the religious made any vows? and that he was told by the secretary, a man of gay temper, that the religious, lying prostrate on the ground, promise their superior, aloud, to preserve their chastity; adding, in a low voice, *as you preserve your's*; and that they make all the other vows with the same restriction.

We may say, nevertheless, that in Abyssinia, as in every other place, there are pious and wicked monks to be found; and that the pious part of their monks carry austerities and mortification much farther than the most rigorous of our hermits.

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T H E

PICTURE OF HUMAN LIFE.

*Translated from the Greek of CEBES, a Disciple of  
SOCRATES.*

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**A**S we were walking in the temple of Saturn, and observing several of the presents dedicated to that god, we were particularly struck with a picture hung up before one of the chapels. Both the manner and the subject of it seemed to be foreign ; so that we were at a loss to know either whence or what it was. What is represented was neither a city nor a camp, but an inclosure containing two other inclosures, the one larger and the other less. To the outer inclosure there was a portal, with a great number of persons standing before it and several females within, and an aged man standing by the portal, in the attitude of giving directions to those who were going in.

After we had been debating among ourselves for some time what all these things should mean, an elderly person, who happened to be by, addressed himself to us in the following manner.

*Old Citizen.* As you are strangers, it is no wonder that you should be at a loss to find out the meaning  
of



of this picture, since several of the natives of this city themselves know not the true intent of it: and indeed it was not placed here by any of our citizens, but by a stranger who visited these parts several years ago. He was a very sensible man and a great philosopher; and both in his conversation and practice seemed to approach nearer to the doctrines of Pythagoras and Parmenides, than to any other of our sects. It was he who built this temple, and dedicated this picture in it to Saturn.

*Stranger.* Have you then seen the very person who gave it? And was you acquainted with him?

*O. C.* Yes, I was both well acquainted with him, and admired him very much; for though he was rather young, his conversation was full of wisdom; and, among other things, I have often heard him explaining the subject of the picture before us.

*S.* I intreat you, if it will not be too troublesome, to acquaint us with his explanation of it; for it is what we are all longing to know.

*O. C.* That would be rather a pleasure than any trouble to me; but I ought to forwarn you of one thing before I begin, which is this, that the hearing it is attended with some danger.

*S.* What danger can there be in that?

*O. C.* It is no less than this, that if you observe and follow the lesson that it gives you, it will make you wise and happy; but if you neglect it, you will be most miserable and wretched all your days: So that the explaining of this is not unlike the riddle said to have been proposed to people by the sphynx, which if the hearer understood he was saved, but if not he was to be destroyed. It is much the same in the present case; for ignorance is full as dangerous in life as the sphynx was supposed to be in the fable. Now the picture

ture before us includes all the doctrine of what is good in life, what is bad, and what indifferent ; so that if you should take it wrong, you will be destroyed by it: not indeed all at once, as the people were by that monster, but by little and little, through all the residue of your life, as those are who are given up to be put to death by slow tortures. On the contrary, if you understand it aright, then will your ignorance be destroyed, and you will be saved, and become happy and blest for all the rest of your days. Do you, therefore, attend carefully to what I shall say to you, and observe it as you ought.

S. O Heavens, how have you increased our longing to hear what may be of such very great importance to us !

O. C. It is certainly of the greatest that can be.

S. Explain it then to us immediately, we beseech you; and be assured that we will listen to you with all the care and attention that a matter which concerns us so greatly must demand.

O. C. You see this grand inclosure. All this circuit is the circuit of Human Life, and that great number of people standing before the portal, are those who are to enter into life. This aged person, who stands by the entrance holding a paper in one of his hands, and pointing with the other, is the genius who directs all that are going in what they should do after they are entered into life : and shows which way they ought to take in order to be happy in it.

S. And which is the way that he shows them? where is it?

O. C. Do you see that seat on the other side before the portal, and the woman sitting on it with a cup in her hand? She who is so finely dressed, and makes so plausible an appearance?

S. I

S. I see her ; and pray, who is she ?

O. C. She is Deceit, the misleader of man.

S. And what does she do there ?

O. C. As they are entering into life, she offers them to drink of her cup.

S. And what does her cup contain ?

O. C. Ignorance and Error ; of which when they have drunk they enter into life.

S. And do all drink of this cup ?

O. C. All drink of it ; but some more and some less. A little farther, within the portal, do you not see a company of loose women, with a great deal of variety both in their dress and airs ?

S. I see them.

O. C. Those are, the Opinions, Desires, and Pleasures ; who, as the multitude enter, fly to them ; embrace each of them with great earnestness, and then lead them away with them.

S. And whither do they lead them ?

O. C. Some to the way of Safety, and others to Perdition through their folly.

S. Ah, why did they drink of that liquor before they came in !

O. C. All of them alike tell those whom they are embracing, that they will lead them to what is best, and will make their lives quite happy : whilst the comers, blinded by the large draughts they have taken from the cup of Deceit, are incapable of distinguishing which is the true way in life ; and wander about inconsiderately here and there, as you see they do. You may observe too, that they who have been in some time, go about just as these direct them.

S. They do so. But, pray, who is that woman who seems

seems to be both blind and mad, and who stands on that round stone there ?

*O. C.* That is Fortune ; and she is really not only mad and blind, but deaf too.

*S.* What can her business be ?

*O. C.* She flies about every where, and snatches what he has from one to give it to another ; and then takes it away again from him to give it to a third ; without any manner of meaning, or any degree of certainty : Which latter is very aptly signified by her figure here.

*S.* How so ?

*O. C.* By her standing on that round stone, which shows that there is no stability or security in her favours ; as all who trust to her find by some great and unexpected fall.

*S.* And what does all that company about her want of her ? And how are they are called ?

*O. C.* They are called The Inconsiderates, and are begging for some of those things which she flings about her.

*S.* And why do they appear with such a diversity of passions ? Some of them are overjoyed, and others as very much distressed ?

*O. C.* They who smile and rejoice, are such as have received something from her hand ; and these call her by the title of Good Fortune : And such as weep and mourn, are they from whom she has resumed what she had before given them ; and these call her Bad Fortune.

*S.* And what is it she gives that should make the former rejoice so much on the receiving it, and the latter lament so much at the loss of it ?

*O. C.* All those things which the greatest part of

man kind think good, such as wealth, and glory, and nobility, and offspring, and dignities, and crowns; and all such sort of things.

S. And are not these really good things?

O. C. As to that we may talk more at large another time; but at present, if you please, let us stick to our picture. You see then, after entering this portal, there is another inclosure on a raised ground, and several women standing before it, dressed out too much like ladies of pleasure.

S. They are so.

O. C. Of these, this is Intemperance, that Luxury; this is Avarice, and that other Flattery.

S. And what do they stand there for?

O. C. They are waiting for those who have received any thing from Fortune; and as they meet with them, they embrace them with the greatest fondness, attach themselves to them, do every thing they can to please them, and beg them to stay with them; promise them to render their whole lives delightful, easy, and free from all manner of care or trouble. Now whoever is carried away by them to Voluptuousness, will find their company agreeable to him at first, whilst they are fondling and tickling his passions: but it is soon quite otherwise; for when he recovers his senses he perceives that he did not enjoy them, but was enjoyed by them; and that they prey upon him and destroy him. And when he has by their means consumed all that he had received from Fortune, then he is obliged to become their slave, and to bear all the insults they are pleased to impose upon him, to yield to all the most scandalous practices; and in the end, to commit all sorts of villainies for their sake, such as betraying, defrauding, robbing, sacrilege,

crilege, perjury, and the like : And when all these fail him, then is he given up to Punishment.

S. And where is she ?

O. C. Do not you see there, a little beyond those women, a narrow dark cavern, with a small sort of door to it, and some miserable women that appear within, clad only in filth and rags ?

S. I see them.

O. C. She who holds up the scourge in her hand is Punishment ; this, with her head sunk almost down to her knees, is Sorrow ; and that other tearing her hair is Anguish of Mind.

S. And, pray, who is that meagre figure of a man without any clothes on just by them ? And that lean woman that resembles him so much in her make and face ?

O. C. Those are Repining and his sister Despair. To all these is the wretch I was speaking of delivered up, and lives with them in torments, till finally he is cast into the house of Misery ; where he passes the remainder of his days in all kinds of wretchedness ; unless by chance Repentance should fall in his way.

S. What happens then ?

O. C. If Repentance should chance to meet with him, she will take him out of the evil situation he was in, and will place a different Opinion and Desire before him : One of those which lead to True Science, and the other of those which lead to Science falsely so called.

S. And what then ?

O. C. If he embraces that which leads to True Science, he is renewed and saved, and becomes a happy man for all his days ; but if the other, he is bewildered again by False Science.

S. Good heaven! what a new danger do you tell me of! And pray, which is False Science? 58

O. C. Do you see that second inclosure? 59

S. Very plainly. 60

O. C. And do not you see a woman standing without the inclosure, just by the entrance into it, of a very striking appearance, and very well dressed? 61

S. As plainly. 62

O. C. That is she whom the multitude, and all the unthinking part of mankind, call by the name of Science; though she is really False Science. Now those who are saved out of the house of Misery call in here in their passage to True Science. 63

S. Is there then no other way to True Science but this? 64

O. C. Yes, there is. 65

S. And pray, who are those men that are walking to and fro within the inclosure? 66

O. C. Those who have attached themselves to False Science, mistaking her for the True. 67

S. And what are they? 68

O. C. Some of them are poets, some rhetoricians, some logicians, some students in music, arithmetic, and geometry; pleasurists, peripatetics, critics, and several others of the same rank. 69

S. And who are those women who seem so busy among them, and are so like Intemperance, and her companions in the first inclosure? 70

O. C. They are the very same. 71

S. Are they then admitted into this second inclosure? 72

O. C. Yes, indeed; but not so readily or so frequently as in the first. 73

S. And are the Opinions too admitted? 74

O. C.

75 O. C. Undoubtedly ; for the persons who belong to this inclosure have not yet got rid of the draught which they took out of the cup of Deceit.

76 S. What then, Ignorance remains still with them ?

77 O. C. That it does, and Folly too ; nor can they get rid of the Opinions, nor all the rest of this vile train, till they quit False Science, and get into the way of the True ; till they drink of her purifying liquor, and wash away all the dregs of the evils that remain in them ; which that, and that only, is capable of doing. Such, therefore as fix their abode with False Science will never be delivered ; nor can all their studies clear them from any one of those evils.

78 S. Which then is the way to True Science ?

79 O. C. Do you see that place on high there, that looks as if it were uninhabited ?

S. I do.

80 O. C. And do you discern a little opening between the rocks, and a small tract leading to it, which is scarce beaten ; and with very few people walking in it, as it is all rough, and stony, and difficult ?

81 S. I discern it very plainly.

82 O. C. And do you not see a high cliff on the hill, almost inaccessible, and with several precipices about it ?

S. I see it.

83 O. C. That is the way which leads to True Science.

84 S. It is frightful only to look upon it.

85 O. C. And up above that cliff, do not you see a large rising rock, all surrounded with precipices ?

S. I see it.

86 O. C. Then you see also the two women that stand upon it, with so much firmness and beauty in their make, and how earnestly they extend their hands.

S. I do so ; and pray, who are they ?

O. C.



O. C. Those two are sisters, and are called Temperance and Perseverance.

S. And why do they extend their hands so earnestly?

O. C. They are encouraging those who are arrived to that rock, and calling out to them to be of good heart, and not to despond, because they have but a little more to suffer, and then will find the road all easy and pleasant before them.

S. But how can they ever get up upon that rock itself? For I do not see any the least path to ascend it by.

O. C. The two sisters descend to meet them, and help them up. Then they order them to rest a little, inspire them with new strength and resolution, and promise to conduct them to True Science; point out the way to them, make them observe how even and easy and charming it is; and how free from all manner of difficulty or danger, as you see it represented here.

S. How well does it answer the description!

O. C. You see before that grove the ground that extends itself into a beautiful meadow, with such a lively light over it.

S. Very plainly.

O. C. Then you see the third inclosure, in the midst of that meadow, and the portal to it.

S. I do so; and pray, what do you call this place?

O. C. The habitation of the blest; for here it is that Happiness and all the Virtues dwell.

S. What a charming place have they to dwell in!

O. C. And do you observe the lady near the portal, with so beautiful and steady a look; of a middle age, or rather a little past it, and dressed in a long plain robe,

A a

robe, without any the least affectation of ornaments? She is standing there, not on a round stone, but a square one firmly fixed in the ground; and by her are two other women, who look as if they were her daughters.

104 S. They do so.

105 O. C. Of these, she in the midst is Science, and the other two are Truth and Persuasion.

106 S. And why does Science stand on that square stone?

107 O. C. To signify that her ways are ways of certainty, and that the presents which she gives to those that arrive to her are firm and lasting.

108 S. And what is that she gives to them?

109 O. C. Strength and tranquillity of mind, arising from a full assurance, that they shall never undergo any evil again in their whole lives.

110 S. O heavens, how desirable are her presents! But why does she stand thus without the inclosure?

111 O. C. To receive those that arrive thither, and give them to drink of her purifying liquor, and to conduct them into the presence of the Virtues within, when they are thoroughly cleansed by it.

112 S. I do not rightly understand what you mean by this cleansing.

113 O. C. I will make that clear to you. Suppose any friend of yours was afflicted with some dangerous fit of illness; if he goes to some knowing physician, and takes what he prescribes, in order to root out the causes of his disease, he may be restored to a perfect state of health; but if he refuses to take what is ordered him, his physician will give him up, and leave him to be destroyed by his distemper.

114 S. That is clear enough.

O. C.

O. C. In the very same manner, when any one comes to Science, she takes him under her care, and gives him a draught of her cup to cleanse him, and drive out all the noxious things that are in him.

S. And what are those noxious things? 116

O. C. The error and ignorance that he drank out of the cup of Deceit; and his arrogance, and lust, and intemperance, and anger, and covetousness; in short, all the evil impressions and habits that he had contracted in his passage through the first inclosure.

S. And when she has cleansed him from all these, whither does she send him? 117

O. C. In through that portal, to Knowledge, and the other Virtues. 118

S. And where are they? 119

O. C. Do not you see, within the portal, a select company of ladies, of singular beauty and decency, both in their look and dress; and in a word, with every thing handsome, and nothing affected about them? 120

S. I see them, and should be glad to know their names. 121

O. C. That at the head of them is Knowledge, and the rest are all her sisters, Fortitude, Justice, Honesty, Prudence, Decency, Freedom, Temperance, and Clemency. 122

S. What beauties they are! And what a longing desire do they inspire one with to enjoy their companies! 123

O. C. That you may do, if you are wise enough to follow the way that I have shown you. 124

S. That will I strive to do, as far as I am able. 125

O. C. Then you will arrive safely to them. 126

S. And when these have received any one, whither do they carry him?

127 O. C. To their mother.

135 S. And who is she?

141 O. C. Happiness.

153 S. And where?

153 O. C. Do you see the way which leads to that high edifice which appears above all the inclosures, as a citadel does above all the buildings in a city?

154 S. Yes.

155 O. C. And do you see that composed, beautiful lady, sitting on a throne in the portico to it, with so easy and disengaged an air, and with that beautiful chaplet of fresh flowers on her head?

156 S. How beautiful does she look!

157 O. C. She is Happiness.

158 S. And when any one arrives to her, what does she do to him?

159 O. C. Happiness, assisted by all the Virtues, crowns him with her own influences; in the same manner as they are crowned, who have obtained the greatest conquests.

160 S. But what conquests has he obtained?

161 O. C. The greatest conquests, and over the most terrible of monsters, which formerly devoured, and tormented, and enslaved him. All these has he conquered, and driven from him; and is become so much master both of himself and them, as to make those things obey him which he himself obeyed before.

162 S. I do not yet comprehend what monsters you mean; and should be very glad to know.

163 O. C. In the first place, his ignorance and error; will you not allow them to be monsters?

S. Yes, and very dangerous ones too.

O. C. Then, his sorrows, and repinings, and covetings, and intemperance, and every thing that is bad. All these has he subdued, and is not subdued by them as he used to be. 145

S. O glorious exploits! and most noble of all victories! But be so good as inform me yet farther, what may be the influence of the crown, with which you were saying he was to be crowned? 146

O. C. It is that which renders him happy: For he who has it once on his head, immediately becomes easy and blest; and does not place his hopes of happiness in any thing without him, but possesses it in his own breast. 147

S. How desirable is such an acquisition! And after he is crowned, what does he do? or whether does he go? 148

O. C. The Virtues take him, and lead him to the place that he had left, and bid him observe those who continue there; amidst what difficulties and troubles they pass their time; and how they are shipwrecked in life, or wander about in it; or are conquered, and led along like captives, some by Intemperance, and others by Arrogance; here by Covetousness, and there by Vain-glory, or any other of the Vices; whose chains they are in vain striving to get loose from, that they might escape, and get to this place of rest; so that their whole life seems to be nothing but one ineffectual struggle. And all this they suffer from their mistaking the right way, and forgetting the orders given them by the directing Genius. 149

S. That appears to me to be the case; but I do not so clearly see, why the Virtues lead the person that has been crowned back to the place that he had left. 150

O. C. Because he had never formed a full and exact idea of the thing that passed there; but at best, had

only guessed and doubted about them ; for from the draught of ignorance and error that he had taken at his entrance, he had imagined things that were bad to be good, and things that were good to be bad ; by which means he had lived wretchedly, as indeed all do while they are there. But now that he has obtained the knowledge of what is really good, he can both live happily himself, and can see how very unhappy the others are.

152 S. And when he has taken a full view there, what does he do, or whither does he go?

153 O. C. Wherever he pleases, for every where is he as safe as one that is got into the Corycian cave : so that wheresoever he goes, he lives in full security, and undisturbed happiness ; and is received by all others with as much pleasure as a good physician is by his patients.

154 S. And has no longer any dread of those females which you called monsters ; nor any apprehension of being hurt by them ?

155 O. C. Not in the least ; for he will never any more be molested either by Anguish, or Sorrow, or Intemperance, or Covetousness, or Poverty, or any other evil ; for he is now master of them all, and superior to every thing that formerly gave him any trouble. As they who practise the catching of vipers, are never hurt by the bite of those creatures, which is so venomous, and even mortal to others, because they have an antidote against their poison ; so he is safe from any influence of all these evils, because he has the antidote against them.

S. That you have explained to me very well ; but I beg you would tell me yet farther, who they are that are descending from the middle of the rock, some of them crowned, and with an air of joy on their countenances ; and others without crowns, that seem to have  
been

been rejected, and have the marks of several falls about them, and are followed by certain women.

O. C. They who are crowned, are such as got safe <sup>157</sup> to Science, and are delighted with the reception that she has given them; and those without crowns, who seem to have been rejected by her, and are returning in so bad a condition, are such as found their hearts fail them when they came to the precipice where Patience stands; and turned back from that point, and are now wandering irregularly they know not whither.

S. And who are the women that are following them? <sup>158</sup>

O. C. They are Sorrow, and Anguish, and Despair, <sup>159</sup> and Infamy, and Ignorance.

S. By your account, they are attended by every thing <sup>160</sup> that is bad!

O. C. Undoubtedly they are; but when they are got <sup>161</sup> down into the first inclosure, to Voluptuousness and Intemperance, they do not lay the blame on themselves, but immediately say all the ill things they can of Science, and of those who are going to her; and tell how miserable and wretched those poor people are, and how much they suffer, who leave the life they might have enjoyed below, and the good things bestowed there.

S. And what are the good things which they mean? <sup>162</sup>

O. C. Luxury and intemperance; to say all in two <sup>163</sup> words; for to indulge their passions like brute beasts, is what they look upon as the completion of all their happiness.

S. And those other women that are coming down <sup>164</sup> there, who look so gay and so well-pleased with themselves, what are they?

O. C. The Opinions, who after conducting those to <sup>165</sup> Science, who have gained admission to the Virtues,

are returning to bring up others, and to acquaint them how happy those are whom they have already conducted up thither.

166 S. And have they been admitted to the Virtues themselves?

167 O. C. By no means; for it is not allowable for Opinion to enter where Knowledge has her dwelling. Their business, therefore, was only to conduct them to Science; and when she has received them, they turn back again to bring others; like transport-ships, which as soon as they have delivered one freight return for another.

168 S. You have now, I think, very well explained all the figures in the picture; but you have not yet told us what directions they were, which the Genius at the first portal gives to those that are entering into life.

169 O. C. He bids them be of good courage. Wherefore be you also of good courage; for I will tell you the whole, and leave no one thing unexplained to you.

170 S. We shall be extremely obliged to you.

171 O. C. You see that blind woman there, on the round stone, who I told you before was Fortune.

172 S. I see her.

173 O. C. As to that woman, he orders them not to place any confidence in her, nor to look on any of her gifts as firm or secure; nor to consider them as their property; for there is no hindering her from resuming them, and giving them to any body else; and it is what she is extremely apt to do. He therefore orders them to regard all her presents with indifference, and not to rejoice if she makes them any, nor to be dejected if she takes them away, and to think neither well nor ill of her; for whatever she does is done without thought, and all by mere chance and accident, as I have acquainted you already.



already. It is on this account that the genius commands them not to attach themselves to any thing she can give; nor to be like those simple bankers, who when they have received any sum of money in trust, are apt to be pleased with it, and look upon it as their own; and when they are called upon to repay it, grow uneasy, and think it very hard; not considering that it was deposited in their hands on that very condition, that the true owners might demand it again whenever they pleased. Just thus the Genius commands men to look upon all the gifts of Fortune: And to be aware, that she may recall them whenever she has a fancy to do it; or may send in more, and if she pleases, may resume that and the former altogether. He therefore commands those who are entering into life, to receive whatever she offers them; and as soon as they have received it, to go on in quest of a more lasting acquisition.

S. What acquisition do you mean? 174

O. C. That which they may obtain from Science if they can arrive safe to her. 175

S. And what is that she gives them? 176

O. C. The true knowledge of what is really good, and the firm, certain, and unchangeable possession of it. He therefore commands them to quit fortune immediately, in pursuit of this; and when they come to those women, who, as I told you before, were Intemperance and Voluptuousness, to leave them too directly, and not to mind whatever they can say; but to go on for the inclosure of False Science; there he bids them stay a little while, to get what may be useful to them on the rest of their road, and then to leave her directly too, and go on for True Science. These are the orders which the Genius gives to all that enter into life; and whoever transgresses or neglects them, will be 177

be a miserable wretch. I have now explained the whole of the parable contained in this painting; but if you have any particular question to ask in relation to any thing that I have said, I am very ready to answer it.

178 S. We are much obliged to you. Pray then, what is it that the Genius orders them to get in the inclosure of science, falsely so called?

179 O. C. Whatever may be of use to them.

180 S. And what is there that may be of use to them?

181 O. C. Literature, and so much of the sciences, as Plato says, may serve people in the beginning of their lives as a bridle, to keep them from being drawn away by idler pursuits.

182 S. And is it necessary for all who would arrive at True Science to do this?

183 O. C. No, it is not necessary, but it may be useful; though in truth, these things themselves do not contribute towards making them the better men.

184 S. Not contribute at all towards making them better!

185 O. C. Not at all; for they may be as good without them. And yet they are not wholly unuseful; for they may sometimes help us, as interpreters do, to the meaning of a language we do not understand: But after all, it is better to understand the language ourselves, than to have any need of an interpreter; and we may be good without the assistance of learning.

186 S. In what then have the learned any advantage over others, towards becoming better men?

187 O. C. Why do you imagine they should have any advantage, since you see they are deceived like others, as to what is good or bad; and continue to be as much involved in all manner of vices? For there is nothing that

that hinders a man, who is a master of literature, and knowing in all the sciences, from being at the same time a drunkard, or intemperate, or covetous, or unjust, or villanous, or in one word, imprudent in all his ways.

S. It is true, we see too many instances of such. 183

O. C. Of what advantage then is their learning, towards making them better men? 183

S.. You have made it appear, that it is of none; but pray, what is the reason of it? 190

O. C. The reason is this: That when they are got into the second inclosure, they fix there as if they were arrived at True Science. And what can they get by that? since we see several persons, who go on directly from Intemperance, and the other Vices in the first inclosure, to the inclosure of True Science; without ever calling in, where these learned persons have taken up their abode. How then can the learned be said to have any advantage over them? On the contrary, they are less apt to exert themselves, or to be instructed than the former. 191

S. How can that be? 192

O. C. Because they who are in the second inclosure, not to mention any other of their faults, at least profess to know what they do not know: So that they acquiesce in their ignorance, and have no motive to stir them up towards the seeking of True Science. Besides, do you not observe another thing; that the Opinions, from the first inclosure, enter in among them, and converse with them as freely as with the former? So that they are not at all better even than they, unless Repentance should come to them, and should convince them, that it is not Science they have been embracing all this while, but only the false 192

(113)  
false appearance of her which has deceived them. But while they continue in the same mind they are in, there is no hope left for them. To close all, my friends, what I would intreat of you is; to think over every thing I have said to you, to weigh it well in your minds, and to practise accordingly. Get a habit of doing right, whatever pain it costs you; let no difficulties deter you in the way to Virtue; And account every thing else despicable, in comparison of this. Then will the lesson that I have taught you, prove to yourselves a lesson of Happiness.



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A

R E V I E W   O F   B O O K S.

*The Natural History of Aleppo, and Parts adjacent. Containing a Description of the City, and the principal natural Productions in its Neighbourhood; together with an Account of the Climate, Inhabitants, and Diseases; particularly of the Plague, with the Methods used by the Europeans for their Preservation. By ALEXANDER RUSSEL, M. D.*

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**T**HE author of this work having returned from a long residence at Aleppo, where he practised physic, proposed to himself to give an account of the epidemical diseases of that place, and particularly of the plague, which he had an opportunity of observing for three different years; but was insensibly led to enlarge his plan into an account of the natural productions of the place, and the customs of the inhabitants. He makes no magnificent professions, and has performed as much as he promised. His accounts have all the appearance of truth, and his style, though it has been censured, is not more vitious than that of many writers who have had better opportunities of cultivating our lan-

language. There are indeed parts which I wish extended, and parts of which I should be well pleased with the contraction: but every man has his particular views and studies, and writes for minds congenial to his own.

Aleppo, in the language of the natives Haleb, is the metropolis of Syria. Its latitude is 36. 12. N.; its longitude is generally supposed 37. 40. E. from London. The city with the suburbs is about seven miles in circumference. It is well built; but the houses have no windows towards the street, which gives the place an unpleasing appearance to European eyes.

The situation of Aleppo seems to have been determined by the course of a small stream called *Coic*, which waters the gardens, water being so scarce in Syria that there is only one river, the Orontes, and the inhabitants of most places are supplied by rain which they save in cisterns.

The country round it produces great variety of plants, both esculent and physical, but is very naked of trees; many of the plants our author has enumerated, and of some not yet mentioned by the botanists he has given descriptions, and very elegant plates. He has been no less attentive to the animals, and has procured several birds and fishes not known in this part of the world, to be very beautifully, and I suppose very exactly, engraved. But of things so much discriminated by their colours as birds and flowers, mere gradations of blackness give but a very imperfect representation.

Of the sheep with the great tail mention is so commonly made, that many will be glad to know what is said of them by a man that has so often seen them. They are the most numerous of the two species about

Aleppo, and those of the largest sort fatted for the table will weigh when they are killed, flayed, and opened, about 150 pounds, of which the tail makes 50. The skin of the under part of the tail is so bare and thin, that the shepherds fix a light board under it to save it from injuries, and to this board they sometimes fix wheels; so that it is not merely fabulous to say that the sheep draw their own tails in carts, except that the cart is not to ease them of the burden, but to save them from hurt. The author does not tell us how they sleep, or whether their tails are disengaged at night.

The principal beast of burden is the camel; of which the species are four; the Turkman camel, the Arab, the dromedary, and the camel with two bunches. The Turkman camel is the largest; his common load is 800 pounds, but he cannot bear heat, and therefore lies still in the summer months.

The Arab being smaller carries about 500 pounds. He can endure heat, and scarcely needs any sustenance but the thistles which he crops as he goes along loaded. They have been known to travel 15 days without water, but then drank so eagerly that many died.

The dromedary seems the most elegant sort of the Arab camel, and perhaps differs from him only as a race-horse from a cart-horse. The camel with two bunches is bred in Persia, and is only seen at Aleppo in the caravans. He differs only from the Arab in having two bunches.

Of asses they have two sorts; one small, like ours, the other much larger, with ears remarkably long; which is, I suppose, the ass on which the Orientals are so often mentioned as riding.

There are hyenas in the hills, of which our author had

had the opportunity of examining one that was killed. It was somewhat bigger than a mastiff; its colour was gray transversely streaked with black; it had a long white mane down the neck and back. That it changes its sex annually, or that it can imitate the human voice, there is no reason to believe; but it preys upon the flocks, and is still supposed to rob graves.

They have many serpents extremely venomous, but as the fields are naked they are easily avoided. The scolopendra and scorpion are often felt, but all the consequence is the pain of a few hours.

The inhabitants of Aleppo are, by a computation not very exact, reckoned to be 235,000, of whom 200,000 are Turks, 30,000 Christians, and 5000 Jews. Of the Christians the greater number are Greeks, then Armenians, then Syrians, and lastly Maronites, who each have a church. The general language is the vulgar Arabic.

Between these several sorts of people there is no great difference. They are generally of a middle stature; not vigorous or active. The women are not unhand-some, but as they are married about 14, they grow old at 30. Their labours are remarkably easy, the more robust rise to work the next day, and the most delicate seldom are confined above 12 days.

The people, even the Mahometans, are not uncivil; and though, as in many other places, the greater number cannot be much commended, yet there are not wanting honest men of every religion.

The usual treat given to a visitant is a dish of coffee; without milk or sugar, with a pipe of tobacco, and a little sweetmeat; and when they would express great respect they offer sherbet, sprinkle perfumed water, and burn aloes wood; after which it is expected that  
the



the stranger should depart. They use tobacco much, but the polite and wealthy smoke by the nargeery, which is an instrument that cools the smoke, by making it pass through the water, along a pipe, I suppose, like the worm of a still. Opium is not taken by these or any other Turks in the excess imputed to them, those who use it being considered as debauched persons, and called *teriaky*, from *tberiaca*, an opiate composition. These men soon wither, lose their memories, and die early with all the symptoms of old age.

Their bagnios are well contrived both for use and privacy, and are much frequented by the women, to whose use most bagnios are appropriated in the afternoon; and who enjoying here almost all the liberty of conversation that is allowed them, form themselves into little parties, and drink coffee together.

They use little exercise. When they remove, the men ride on horseback; and the women of wealth, if the distance be too far for walking, are carried in a litter.

They go to bed soon and rise early; their beds, which consist only of a matras and a coverlet, are made in the summer on the top of the house, which is always flat, in the open air, or on the ground in the yard. In the winter they sleep in the lowest roofed room on the ground-floor. The people of higher condition are lulled to rest by music, or by a wild story which the women are taught, and of which not being accustomed to have their minds feasted with much variety of images, they are, I suppose, able to bear the repetition a thousand times.

When they are at home, they amuse themselves with chess, or some other game of a sedentary kind; but when they assemble to be merry in larger bodies, they

have always buffoons to divert them; *without whom,* says the author, *their mirth and conversation would soon languish or conclude.*

20 The Mahometans are extremely illiterate; many bawls and farmers of the customs cannot read. Only one of the inhabitants of Aleppo had astronomy enough to calculate an eclipse. They have many schools or colleges in the city, but there is little taught in them. Physic is in great esteem among them, and its professors by consequence are numerous; but they are almost all foreigners, there being no means by which the natives can acquire any medical knowledge in a country where no physic is publicly taught, nor any anatomy ever practised. Like other ignorant medicasters, they consider more the passions of the patient than his disease, use a great pomp of medicines when there is no danger, and as he approaches the grave withdraw from him. Here, as in other places, folly and censure make the task of the physician more difficult, the last medicine being always supposed to have destroyed him who dies of a distemper.

As dress is not easily described by words, the clothes of the people of Aleppo are represented by plates.

The Turks are commended for their temperance by European writers beyond their merit. They eat three set meals a day, and are often regaling themselves with fruit between them. They use no knife or fork at table. Their liquor at dinner is water, and coffee after it.

In the month of Ramadan, or stated season of abstinence, they fast from the dawn to sunset; but those who are rich enough to sleep in the day eat all night, and live so luxuriously as to spend twice as much in that month as in any other, but this month is to the poor a time of real mortification.

Though

Though wine is forbidden them, the number of those who drink it is very considerable, but it is done with privacy.

They are obliged to wash before every time of prayer, which are five in a day; and custom and cleanliness oblige them to wash at so many other times, that much of the day is spent in the use of water.

They consider themselves as allowed four wives, and an unlimited number of concubines; but few have more than two, and poor men scarcely ever more than one. Yet the author has known 40 kept by some of the wealthy. This multitude of rivals sometimes gives the master disturbance; but being trained up in servile obedience, they commonly live well together. They may divorce their wives at pleasure; but then they lose the sum which they gave for them, and commonly pay by contract another sum equal to the first.

When a woman has a son marriageable, she takes an opportunity of seeing the young women of the place; and when she has made her choice, applies to the girl's mother, who takes care to make inquiry into the character of the young man; whose father, if no objection arises, demands the maid of her parents: the price to be paid for her is fixed, and a licence obtained from the kade. Proxies are then appointed; whose hands, after a few questions, are joined by the imaum; the money is paid, and the bridegroom may now call for his bride. The money paid for her is with some addition laid out in ornaments and furniture, which are sent to his house. He then invites all his friends, and entertains them three days before the wedding with great plenty. His female relations then go to fetch the bride, who comes with the mother and kinswomen, and the men and women feast that day in separate apartments. At

night, upon notice given to the women, the bridegroom is introduced into the court-yard of the womens apartment, where his own kinswomen meet him, and sing and dance before him to the stair-foot of the bride's chamber, who receives him veiled at the middle of the stairs.

Of their slaves, some are negroes from Ethiopia, but far the greater are Georgians, or captives of war. They are generally well treated.

The women are suffered to go abroad very little, except that they must use the bagnio; and on Mondays and Thursdays they have a kind of religious custom of visiting the tombs of their relations: this they have so far improved, that almost every Thursday is allotted to a particular saint, whose tomb is to be visited on that day. They always go in companies, and are guarded by a boy and an old woman.

The Harum, or womens apartment, is guarded in rich houses by a black eunuch. The Turks think it too disgraceful to treat their women with much regard, and therefore leave them to the management of their guardians.

When a Turk dies, the women begin to shriek, and continue their clamorous lamentations till the body is buried. They immediately wash the corps, stop all its natural passages with cotton, and wrap it up in a cotton cloth, then lay it in a coffin; at the head is erected a short staff, on which a head-dress is placed, showing the sex of the deceased: The bier is carried in their turns by almost all that happen to be present. The male relations follow it first, and then the females, who shriek all the way to the mosque, where the imaum says a service.

The graves lie east and west: they lay the head to  
the

the west, turning the body to the right side, that the face may look southward towards Mecca. The grave is covered below the surface with flat stones to keep the earth from falling in upon the body; and the last words are used to the deceased, which are very solemn: *O man, from the earth thou wert first created, and to the earth thou dost now return; this grave being the first step of thy progress to the mansions of the other world. If in thy actions thou hast been benevolent, thou art absolved by God; but if, on the contrary, thou hast not been so, the mercy of God is greater than all things.*

The nearest relations go to the grave on the third, seventh, and fortieth days; and that day twelve months, after their friend's decease, the women dress the tomb with flowers and greens every Monday and Thursday.

The men wear no mourning, but the women put on their gravest clothes, and for a husband lay aside their jewels twelve months, and six months for a father. At least before a widow marries again, she must mourn 40 days for her husband without going out of the house, or speaking unnecessarily even to her nearest relations. These days are chosen in any part of the first year.

The Mahometans observe their hours of prayer very strictly, give alms to the poor, and entertain strangers; but are so little attentive to all other duties, that the musfee of Aleppo desired the author in representing their religion at home, to consider it as directly opposite to their practice.

Their bashaws are not now chosen out of their slaves, but commonly purchase their places, and repay themselves by extortion. The kadees, or judges, are much influenced by money, and witnesses may be always

hired. The kadee, however, will commonly decide right for less than he will expect for deciding wrong. They dispatch the affair soon; and the cost of ten in the hundred upon the sum litigated is paid by him who carries the cause, however unjust the demand may appear on the side of his opponent.

It is not true, that a man after his pilgrimage to Mecca is exempt from capital punishment, for many of the pilgrims are hanged in the way as they return.

The Christians of this country observe many days of abstinence; and some will not break their fast though their lives are endangered. Their women are as closely veiled, and as much confined, as with the Turks, and are commonly contracted by their parents while they were children. The Maronites, from whom the other Christians differ but little, perform the nuptial ceremony in this manner.

The bride is demanded of her father, to whose house the bridegroom's relations are then invited to consult about the wedding-day. On the day fixed, which is commonly that day fortnight, they sup again at the bride's house, then return to that of the bridegroom, whom custom requires to hide himself; he is at last found undressed in some obscure corner, and then is led with the bridesman round the court in triumph to a room where the wedding clothes are laid out. A priest says a long prayer over them; the bridegroom is dressed, and they are with great noise led round the yard again.

After midnight, all the company invited to the wedding return to the bride's house, each carrying a candle, and music playing before them; they knock at the door, and demand the bride, who is always refused, and

to be gained by storm, in which the friends of the bridegroom are never repulsed.

In countries where wine is more liberally drank, these fights would sometimes end in mischief.

The bride is then brought out covered with a veil all over, and led to the bridegroom's, accompanied by a sister or a near female relation. She is set down at the upper end of the womens room, where she is to sit veiled with her eyes shut, silent, and motionless, except that she rises to all that come in, as their entrance is notified to her by an attendant. The rest of the night is spent in their separate apartments with great noise and merriment.

Nex day the bishop or a priest comes to conclude the ceremony. The women are all veiled, the bride is quite covered, and stands supported by two women. The bridegroom gorgeously dressed enters with the bishop, and with the brideman is placed at the lady's left hand. The bishop, after a short service, puts a crown upon the head, first of the bridegroom then of the bride, and afterwards of the brideman and bridemaide: then joins their hands, puts a ring on the bridegroom's finger, and delivers another to the bridemaide to be put on that of the bride; and near the conclusion ties a ribband about the bridegroom's neck, which a priest comes to take off in the afternoon. They then return into the mens apartment, where dinner is prepared for the bishop, in whose presence all behave with great gravity; but he soon leaves them, and the feast begins with noise and revelry, music, and buffoonery.

At night the bridegroom is led to the bride's chamber, where he presents her with a glass of wine, and they drink to each other; he then goes back, and is

obliged to endure the noise and riot of the company till the afternoon of the next day. He is then left to a few select friends, and at midnight is suffered to go to his wife. Presents are sent by all the company. The bride receives flowers from all the women of her acquaintance, and seven days after her relations visit her. The bride never speaks for the first month, except a very little to her husband, and is particularly lessoned by the old matrons not to talk to him too soon.

The women commonly wait on their husbands at table; they never appear unveiled before men, and are rarely permitted to leave the house.

The author, after this account of the inhabitants of Aleppo, subjoins a view of their diseases, in which there is nothing very observable; and a kind of journal which from many pages exhibits no very entertaining narrative of heat and cold, rain and sunshine. But the remarks with which he concludes his book, on the plague, and the *mal d'Aleppo*, or *Aleppo disease*, deserves particular regard.

The plague, which is never so violent there as in Europe, is expected upon long experience once in about ten years. It is moderate in the winter, gathers strength with the increasing heat, is at its height in June, and in August certainly ceases. To have had it once is no security against the infection.

The symptoms of the plague are different in different bodies; but it generally began with a chillness and vomiting, pain in the loins or back, intense headach, giddiness, and loss of strength, with a great uneasiness at the pit of the stomach, and shooting pains about the jaws, groin, and arm-pits.

A violent fever followed, in which the body was  
scorched



scorched inwardly, though no uncommon heat was discovered on the skin. The heat was sometimes universal; sometimes it affected particular parts; and had many exacerbations and remissions in a day. The face as the heat increased first glowed, then grew livid, then pale. The eyes were cloudy, and the whole countenance inexpressibly confused. The pulse was at first little altered, but soon grew quick, and afterwards often changed without any visible concurrence with other symptoms. In the parts where shooting pains were felt, a hard tumour might be discovered deep in the flesh, without any discoloration of the skin; these tumours ripened into buboes.

The danger could not be estimated from the first symptoms; for sometimes the most violent fever would cease in a few hours, and leave nothing behind it but weakness, and the pain of the increasing buboes, which are sometimes 15 days before their suppuration, but never confine the patient.

Several died at the first seizure; and of those the arm-pits and groins turned black, and the whole body was covered with petechial stains and livid pustules.

The greater part, however, survived the first attack, and had these symptoms more violent in the evening; their heat increased, their tongue faltered, and their senses were impaired. Towards morning the heat abated, the delirium ceased, and their great complaint was of the pain in their heads, and that of their buboes. About half of them had on some part or other of their bodies a carbuncle or painful pustule, encompassed with a circle of deep scarlet, which soon grew livid, with intense burning pain. This pustule increased

increased to an inch and a half, and sometimes more in diameter.

52 The second day passed in frequent remissions and exacerbations; every paroxysm became more and more violent, till in the evening a coma or morbid slumber came on, and the pulse became too low and quick to be counted; the buboes subsided, and the circle of the carbuncle turned black.

In this state on the third day many died, and others were relieved from it by a critical sweat; which some did not obtain till the fifth day, some not till the seventh, and a very few not till the eleventh day.

A copious sweat on the third day was always salutary, yet did not perhaps wholly discharge the disease, but left some remains to be carried off by another sweat on the fifth day; after which the patient was only troubled with his buboes and carbuncles. The buboes often resolved without any suppuration even in those that recovered.

During the course of the disease, in some the tongue was moist, in others black and furred; some had an unquenchable thirst at irregular intervals, others refused liquors. Some were lax, others costive, but most had the natural evacuation; the urine was uncertain, but commonly yellowish, and without sediment. A few had hæmorrhagies, which, otherwise than in other pestilential cases, were commonly forerunners of a critical sweat.

Other years produced some small diversity of symptoms, but not such as altered the general indications, or influenced the method of cure, which the author proposes with great modesty, having observed, that the natives have gained no knowledge by the frequency of  
6 this

this distemper. Of so small importance is experience, where there is no power of rational deduction.

At the beginning of the disease phlebotomy was useful, but afterwards mischievous. A vomit with warm water, or a very gentle emetic, was likewise very helpful on the first day. Strong purges were hurtful, but gentle laxatives relieved the head, and a strong cathartic after the critical sweat promoted, by whatever means, the suppuration of the buboes.

The natural crisis of the disease being always by sweat, it was natural to try sudorifics; but they were dangerous on the first day, because they had not the effect intended; they inflamed the malady. The author seems to have tried only the gentle diaphoretics, and recommends rad. contrayerva, and valer. filvestris, in which, I suppose, nobody will much confide; and indeed he has little acquaintance with physic, who does not know the uncertainty of that man's state, whose recovery depends on the excitement of a sweat by internal medicines.

The bark he was not suffered to try, and the Virginian snakeroot was too bitter to be taken by them, whose distaste was not much balanced by their hope in physic. Nitre was of no use.

The method of cure practised by our author was this. At the first seizure he drew from ten to twenty ounces of blood from the arm, but seldom more than twelve ounces. He then vomited the patients with warm water or a weak emetic, and then gave a weak opiate. He then exhibited diaphoretics every four hours, with as large draughts of diluting liquors as they could be persuaded to drink. In the winter a fire was made in the chamber; in the summer the fresh air was admitted.

ted. When they were faint they drank a cordial julap sweetened with syrup of white poppies.

This regimen commonly produced a sweat on the second or third day, after which a mild cathartic was given; the other medicines were continued, and an anodyne was ordered in the evening.

When the buboes subsided, they were quickened by a blister. When a lethargy came on, a blister was applied to the head, or a cataplasm of garlic to the feet with great advantage. The buboes were suppurated by a warm plaster; the carbuncles always mortified but soon separated, and the digestion afterwards was very quick.

As it is more easy to shun the plague than to cure it, it is not useless to mention the precautions taken by foreigners at Aleppo against infection, which are more worthy of notice as they are commonly successful.

The English used formerly to retire into the country, and encamp in the mountains while the infection continued, but now they stay in the city; and in the winter months, while the disease advances slowly, content themselves to converse as little as is possible with the natives, and to confine their servants as much as they can. When this disease begins to rage they form parties, shut themselves up in the most airy and commodious houses, and keep their doors fast from April to July. They take care to have in the house one that can shave, and to confine their cats; if a strange cat intrudes, they shoot him, and throw him out with the tongs. They receive their victuals at a window by a rope, to the lower end of which hangs a chain, and a pail of iron; their provisions are taken out of the pail with a pair of tongs; the flesh is dipped in water mixed with vinegar, and hung up for some time; the bread is well aired,  
and

and the letters are smoked with sulphur. After the doors are opened, the same precautions are used for some weeks as before they were shut.

For those who are obliged to converse with the sick, the author gives some rules, with no great confidence, as rather useful than certain. He directs, never to go out fasting, to avoid all excess, passions, and evacuations more than are usual, yet not to eat or drink below the usual rate; but rather to fortify the constitution by a generous glass. In this he has the concurrence of Dr Willis. In any immediate danger, not to swallow the spittle, and to breathe through a sponge wet with an infusion of rue in vinegar, or vinegar alone; which is probably as good, the virtues of rue to resist infection being, I fear, imaginary. To hold the breath near the sick, and as soon as is possible to wash the mouth, face, and hands with vinegar. To change the clothes soon, and again to use a wash of vinegar. The only preservative medicine used was the bark.

Of the disease of Aleppo, called by the natives the *botch of a year*, the species are commonly reckoned two, but the author imagines them to be three.

The male-disease is a small red tubercle about as big as a pin's head, which in time spreads to the breadth of a sixpence, forms a scurf and a scab, which in about eight months falls off, and leaves a small mark.

The female gives some pain, increases to twice the compass of the male, and becomes a shallow ulcer, with a livid circle on the outside; it is commonly well in a year, but leaves a scar which continues through life.

The third sort, which the natives call a sting of a *millepede*, never grows large or gives pain.

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This disease none of the natives escape, and most foreigners have it in a few months after their arrival; other animals are subject to it.

The female only requires any cure; and in this the author found nothing so efficacious as the mercurial plaster.

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*The Memoirs of the Duke de Sully, &c. Translated  
from the French by Mrs LENNOX.*

**T**HIS translation has been already so well received by the public that we can add little to its reputation by the addition of our suffrage in its favour. But as the copies are about to be multiplied by a cheaper edition, it is not yet too late to remark, that those memoirs contain an account of that time in which France first began to assume her superiority in Europe; that they exhibit a nation torn with factions, and plundered by tax-gatherers, rescued by a great king and an honest minister. There can be no age or people to which such a history may not be useful and pleasing; but it must more particularly invite the attention of those who like us are now labouring with the same distresses, and whose duty it is to endeavour at the same relief.

But we live in an age where even profit is recommended in vain if it be not associated with pleasure: we therefore should scarcely solicit for this book the notice of the public, unless we could declare that it has the variety of romance with the truth of history; and that  
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the style of the translation is easy, spritely, and elegant, equally remote from the turgid and the mean.

It is difficult from a narrative well connected to detach a specimen. The following incident is selected only because it may be understood alone, and requires little room, not because it is otherwise preferable to other passages.

The manner in which Fescamp was surprised is so remarkable, that it well deserves a particular recital here. When this fort was taken by Biron from the league, in the garrison that was turned out of it, there was a gentleman called *Bois-rosé*, a man of sense and courage, who making an exact observation of the place, and having concerted his scheme, contrived to get two soldiers, whom he had bound to his interest, to be received into the new garrison which was put into Fescamp by the royalists. That side of the fort next the sea, is a perpendicular rock six hundred feet high, the bottom of which, for about the height of twelve feet, is continually washed by the sea, except four or five days in the year during the utmost recess of the sea, when for the space of three or four hours it leaves fifteen or twenty fathom of dry sand at the foot of the rock. *Bois-rosé*, who found it impossible by any other way to surprise a garrison who guarded with great care a place lately taken, did not doubt of accomplishing his design, if he could enter by that side, which was thought inaccessible; this he endeavoured by the following contrivance to perform.

He had agreed upon a signal with the two soldiers, whom he had corrupted; and one of them waited continually upon the top of the rock, where he posted himself during the whole time that it was low water. *Bois-rosé* taking the opportunity of a very dark night, came  
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with fifty resolute men, chosen from amongst the soldiers, in two large boats, to the foot of the rock. He had provided himself with a thick cable, equal in length to the height of the rock, and tying knots at equal distances, run short sticks through, to serve to support them as they climbed. The soldier whom he had gained, having waited six months for the signal, no sooner perceived it, than he let down a cord from the top of the precipice, to which those below fastened the cable, by which means it was wound up to the top, and made fast to an opening in the battlement with a strong crow, run through an iron-staple made for that purpose. Bois-rosé giving the lead to the two serjeants, whose courage he was well convinced of, ordered the fifty soldiers to mount the ladder in the same manner, one after another, with their weapons tied round their bodies, himself bringing up the rear, to take away all hope of returning; which indeed soon became impossible; for before they had ascended half-way, the sea rising more than six feet, carried off their boats, and set their cable a floating. The necessity of withdrawing from a difficult enterprise is not always a security against fear, when the danger appears almost inevitable. If the mind represents to itself these fifty men, suspended between heaven and earth, in the midst of darkness; trusting their safety to a machine so unsecure, that the least want of caution, the treachery of a mercenary soldier, or the slightest fear, might precipitate them into the abyss of the sea, or dash them against the rocks; add to this, the noise of the waves, the height of the rock, their weariness and exhausted spirits; it will not appear surprising, that the boldest amongst them trembled, as in effect, he who was foremost did. This serjeant telling the next man, that he  
could



could mount no higher, and that his heart failed him, Bois-rosé, to whom this discourse passed from mouth to mouth, and who perceived the truth of it by their advancing no higher, crept over the bodies of those that were before him, advising each to keep firm, and got up to the foremost, whose spirits he at first endeavoured to animate; but finding that gentleness would not prevail, he obliged him to mount by pricking him in the back with his poinard; and doubtless, if he had not obeyed him, he would have precipitated him into the sea. At length, with incredible labour and fatigue, the whole troop got to the top of the rock, a little before the break of day, and was introduced by the two soldiers into the castle, where they began to slaughter without mercy the centinels and the whole guard; sleep delivered them up an easy prey to the enemy, who killed all that resisted, and possessed themselves of the fort.

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*An Essay on Waters; in three Parts: treating of Simple Waters, of cold Medicated Waters, of Natural Baths.* By C. LUCAS, M. D.

THE author of this book is a man well known to the world for his daring defiance of power when he thought it exerted on the side of wrong; the popularity which he obtained; and the violence to which the Irish ministers had recourse, that they might set themselves free from an opponent so restless by his principles, so powerful by his conduct, and so specious by his cause. They drove him from his native country by

a proclamation ; in which they charged him with crimes of which they never intended to be called to the proof ; and oppressed him by methods equally irresistible by guilt and innocence.

Let the man thus driven into exile for having been the friend of his country, be received in every other place as a confessor of liberty ; and let the tools of power be taught in time that they may rob but cannot impoverish.

In the book which we are now to examine, is treated one of the most important and general of all physical subjects, the nature and properties of a body justly numbered among the elements, without which neither animal nor vegetable life can subsist.

This subject our author has examined with great diligence, not only by consulting writers, but by numerous and careful experiments, which he has tried upon more mineral springs than perhaps any single man had ever examined.

But something is always to be wished otherwise than it is. This author has been induced, by an affected fondness for analogy and derivation, to disfigure his pages with new modes of spelling, which indeed gives his book a forbidding aspect, and may dispose many to conclude too hastily, that he has very little skill in questions of importance, who has so much leisure to lavish upon trifles.

Every book, I suppose, is written to be read : the orthographical innovator very little consults his own interest, for I know few faults so likely to drive off the reader as perpetual and glaring affectation.

He that studies singularity, should at least compensate that disgust which his disapprobation of custom naturally produces in all who follow it, by taking a bet-

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ter way than that which he leaves : he that despises the countenance of example should supply its place by the power of truth. But Dr Lucas's changes are sometimes wrong upon his own principles, as when he writes *soveregne* and *arteficial*; and sometimes contrary to the laws of analogous derivation, as when he makes *loſſed* the preterite of *loſe*.

These faults do not lessen the usefulness of his book, though they may diminish the pleasure of perusing it.

After a general account of salts, acid, alkaline, and neutral, he comes to his main subject; and gives the following definition of water.

“ I shall not, in this place, treat of water as a mere clement, or of one of the physical principles or constituent parts of other bodies; I shall chiefly consider it as it occurs to our senses, and examine its natural appearances and principal properties, qualities, and uses. And, for better distinction, I define it,

“ An humid, fluid, pellucid, colourless, inodorous, insipid body; lighter than earths; heavier than air, most oils and burning spirits, incompressible, unflammable, but, by heat, capable of great rarefaction and extreme expansion, with remarkable elasticity; and by cold, subject to consolidation in congelation or freezing. Its constituent parts are very heterogeneous; for with the subtile elementary fluid, pure water, all the other elements, in various forms, as different earths, salts, sulphureous, or inflammable bodies, and air, in greater or smaller proportions, and more laxly or intimately blended, are always combined.

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\* “ There are several oils specifically heavier than common water; as the epireumatic oils of guaiacum, box, &c. and even the essential oils of cloves, cinnamon, saffraſas, &c.”

“ Though, according to this definition, there be but one kind of water ; yet, for greater clearness and certainty, we distinguish it into several kinds, from the different matters that appear to predominate in the fluid.

13 “ Hitherto there has not been discovered, in nature or by art, a water perfectly pure, truly elementary. Yet notwithstanding, as we are forced to judge of things in general relatively or comparatively, so do we judge and speak of waters : such then as are found to exhibit nothing sensible to the smell or taste, and are by all agreed to be clear, colourless, inodorous, and insipid, are, by common consent, called pure or sweet waters ; whilst such as strike the senses with something remarkable in colour, smell, or taste, are called mineral or medicinal waters.”

He confirms every part of his definition by experiments. One of which, quoted from Musschenbroek, will to many of our readers appear remarkable. “ Take (says he) two glass-phials of equal size and strength, fill one with gunpowder, and put one drop of water into the other ; stop them, and set them on the fire : that in which the water is put will burst with far the greater noise and force ; which shows that *the power of rarefied water is greater than that of inflamed gunpowder.*”

I mean not to deny the position inferred, but do not think that it follows from the experiment. To discuss it fully would require more time than I am willing to bestow upon it. The power of these two bodies must be proportionate to the space to which they can be expanded, which this experiment does not measure, nor indeed does it show the force of either body. The phial filled with gunpowder was burst by a single particle, the rest was not fired at all, or fired when air had been admitted by the disruption of the glass. That water  
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should burst the glass with more force than the powder I cannot conceive, for the glass was burst in either case at the moment that more power was put in act than the glass could sustain. So useless are these trials, which an \* elegant writer has lately degraded to their proper rank by the name of *bruta experientia*, unless theory brings her light to direct their application.

But we shall pass from these speculations to things of daily use. We are taught in the following paragraph to try and select water for the purposes of life.

“ Nature early teaches us to distinguish waters by the common test of our senses : 1. We look upon no water to be pure or simple, that does not upon sight appear pellucid, or clear, and colourless ; and the more clear and colourless it is, the better we justly pronounce it. Such water upon standing lets fall no sediment. 2. No water can be thought pure but such as is perfectly inodorous. 3. No water can be pure, that is, not quite insipid ; though some insipid waters are far from pure : most terrene or petrefying waters are tasteless. 4. The purest water makes the greatest noise, when poured out of one vessel into another. 5. The purest water wets soonest and most, and feels softest to the touch. But though these be the first trials to be made on water, as the senses differ in most men, we are not to trust solely to them ; they only serve to guide us to the proper and conclusive trials.

Various artificers and rustics have certain tests, by which they prove waters fit or unfit for their several purposes. They commonly distinguish them into hard and soft waters. The hard waters are such as are charged with some terrene or stony or metallic matter ; such as the waters of some springs and most wells or pumps ; the soft are rain, snow, some springs, most rivers,

\* Laurentius de Hydropc.

vers, lakes, and ponds. The hard are unfit for the watering of plants ; whereas the light and soft fertilize the earth, promote vegetation, and nourish all vegetables. Wherefore, prudent gardeners, in defect of rain or soft river water, expose their hard waters some time to the air and sun, in order to soften them, by promoting a separation of those terrene or other matters, which rendered them hard. These hard waters, are unfit for washing or bleaching, brewing, baking, or boiling of food, whether animal or vegetable ; being already so charged and clogged with terrene and other foreign matters, that they cannot penetrate, and resolve the connection of, other bodies, till they be first freed from the extraneous impurity. Wherefore, washers, bleachers, brewers, bakers, cooks. &c. choose the softest waters for their purposes. They first commonly know how to soften hard, when they cannot get soft water : for this purpose, they infuse the ashes of burned vegetables in their water, whose alkaline salt dissolves therein ; by which the acid in the water is saturated, which causes a speedy separation and precipitation of the terrene parts ; which being by the acid suspended in the water, obstructed its union with soap, and rendered it, as it is called, hard."

Dr Lucas then proceeds to show the different uses of different waters, which daily experience has taught almost all mankind to choose on common occasions, and which we are often incommoded by not distinguishing for uses that less frequently occur.

" Hard waters are the best for builders and plasterers ; as they coincide with the intention of giving firmness and stability to the mortar, by adding more of a similar substance extremely fine. For want of a due regard to this, we see many walls but ill cemented, and plaster crumbling and mouldering, which made with  
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hard water, would be as firm and durable as stone. We have not a more common complaint, than the dampness of the walls of our houses, those built in great cities more especially, where they are so negligent or ignorant of this caution, that we frequently see them take the waters of showers, and the common canals in the streets, charged with ordure and other materials fit for generating nitre, and build walls with them, which never do, nor can thoroughly dry. This I take to be one of the causes of fires being so easily communicated from one house to another in our capital.

“ For all the other purposes of life, whether for dilution or nutrition, for the boiling our foods of all kinds, especially for the resolving of horns or bones of animals; for brewing or infusing of any vegetables; for baking the lightest fermented bread; for washing of all things; for bleaching of linen, the softest water is always the best.

“ But no artificer requires so great accuracy in the choice of water as the chemist. He uses it for elixivation, solution, precipitation, lotion, or ablution, crystallization, distillation, and numberless other operations. In which, if the water be not pure, that is, if it contains any thing foreign to his purpose, he is liable to endless errors and remediless deceptions.

“ The waters in the natural state found most pure are in the order in which we have set them down in the beginning of this work; to wit, 1. The meteoric, or atmospheric; as dew, rain, or snow, gathered with the given necessary cautions. This is to be looked upon as a kind of natural distillation, whose purity, like that of artificial distillation, depends upon the medium through which it passes, and the vessels in which it is re-

ceived. 2. The terrestrial; as the waters of springs, rivers, &c. which being but collections of the first, differ from them according to the various bodies on which they have layen, or the strainers through which they have passed."

He then teaches how waters may be compared with each other: "From what has already been offered, relating to the nature and properties of water, the absurdity of imagining any that falls under our cognizance being perfectly pure and homogeneous must most evidently appear: for, in the first place, it is hardly to be divested of air, without losing its fluidity, or charging it with some other foreign matter; and if it imbibes air, it must take in all that such air is charged with; which may be all the bodies of the terrestrial creation, in different forms and proportions. However, as bodies must be divided into an inconceivable tenuity, to enable them to be suspended in that most light fluid air; such waters as contain most air, of all others are found the lightest and purest: for, such waters as have their interstices filled with gross, heavy, saline, or other terrene bodies, contain but little air, and are therefore the most ponderous. Thus, we find the alkaline ley of tartar, absurdly called oil, and the acid of vitriol, as improperly called so; both being none other than water saturated with different salts; these contain little or none air; as do waters charged with other salts or earths, as the waters of salt springs or the sea, and petrefying waters in proportion.

"Hence the lightest waters most readily conceive igneous motion, as well as most suddenly lose it; that is, are most quickly heated and the soonest cool and freeze. It is hard to bring ley of tartar to boil, still harder to bring the acid of vitriol to boil, and in proportion,



portion, such waters as are charged with other gross matters, whether salts or earths. These also, when once heated, most slowly cool, and hardly freeze.

“ As the least terrestrial water is the lightest, and the most readily in motion, so it must necessarily be the most volatile. Hence, exposed to the open air, it is most apt to evaporate, and in distillation rises the soonest.

“ The lightest water is proved not only by these marks, but by statical experiments; for some waters appear lighter or heavier than others upon the balance. But, to make these trials with due accuracy, it is necessary to examine the waters to be compared in the same degree of temperature, either hot or cold. For, as water is capable of extreme rarefaction by heat, and considerable condensation by cold, nothing can with certainty be determined by hydrostatical experiments, without ascertaining by the thermometer precisely the degrees of heat or cold of the water at the time of making such experiments.

“ As water then is capable of receiving into its pores, or the interstices of its parts, not only much air, but also great variety of salts and other terrene bodies, without sensibly increasing its volume; so the water that contains most air is always found the lightest; as that which is most charged with terrestreity must be found to contain least air, and to appear statically the most ponderous.

“ Waters may be compared with sufficient exactness by a common just pair of scales: Thus, let a strong phial be made, to contain about two ounces, with a small mouth, to which a stopple is exactly adapted by grinding. Let this phial be filled by immersion in any water to be tried; then pressing in the stopple  
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as far as it can go, without violence, let it be quickly dried on the outside, and exactly weighed. This will sensibly show the difference between any two or more waters of the same temperature compared. That which is found to weigh the least is the best, because the lightest, consequently the most pure water.

“ The meteoric waters may be compared to the terrestrial in any particular place or season by the following experiment.

“ Let any quantity of pure dry alkaline salt, one pound for instance, be taken and equally divided into two parts. Let the one be dissolved by exposing it to the open air, and absorbing the humidity thereof, where it may be left subject to receive dust or other foulness : let the increase be marked by measure and weight : let it then be evaporated to a dryness, and let the process of thus dissolving and evaporating be repeated several times. Then let the salt, well dried as at first, be exactly weighed, and the increase, if any, be marked.

“ Let the other portion of salt be dissolved in a sufficient quantity of any water to be compared to the meteoric, noting the quantity with exactness, that the proportion of this water to that absorbed from the atmosphere be with due accuracy ascertained : let this solution, like the former, be carefully evaporated to a dryness, and the process of solution and evaporation be repeated in this as in that, and at last the salt dried as at first ; then let it be weighed, and its increase accurately noted ; whatever either has increased in weight it must have gained it from the water in which it was dissolved, if the experiments were performed with care and cleanliness ; and, upon comparison, the different purity or impurity of the solvent, with its proportions, will

will be exactly known : the portion of salt which received the greatest increase, or otherwise suffered the greatest change, denominate the most impure water.

“ By this means also any two terrestrial waters may be compared.

“ This may be a more certain method of determining the quantity of solid contents dissolved in any water than simple evaporation by itself ; for many particles of terrene matter may be suspended so united with the water as to fly off with it in vapour, whose connection with that fluid may be so broken, by the interposition of this salt, that they may be more easily separated ; so that the water may be purely exhaled and leave its earthy companion, as well as some portion of its acid, mixed with the alkaline salt.”

. In the following pages is exhibited an exact analysis of the different kinds of water used in London, of which most readers will be more curious to know the result than the process.

Of the Thames water he observes, that, “ Many have sought, and some spoke of, a spirit to be extracted from Thames water ; it is found liable to ferment and putrefy : this may happen from the oily matter and others in the water ; yet it chiefly happens when it has lain some time in wooden vessels : what it then affords by distillation is by no means to be imputed to the water alone ; it partly belongs to the extractive parts of the wood, which the water dissolves, subtilized by fermentation or putrefaction. But, from the component parts of the water, and from the immense variety of mixtures it receives from the city, it will not be wondered if it should be more apt than ordinary to ferment and putrefy ; the products of fermentation and  
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putrefaction are not to be attributed to the water ; both of these are but creatures of these operations, and consequently foreign to the water, in the natural state, in which alone it falls under our cognizance here.

“ This is found one of the lightest, purest, softest, and best river waters into which the tide flows ; the quantity of matters, foreign to pure water, contained in it, is very inconsiderable, notwithstanding the immense quantity it daily appears to receive ; it is not easy to collect rain water with much less, especially near a great city. And though the proportions may be found to vary, yet these same principles or rather mixtures are to be found in some degrees in most waters that touch the earth.

“ Such superficial naturalists as enter upon the examination of some one or more medicinal waters, without having ever inquired into the nature of simple water, or compared the one with the other, are apt to ascribe the virtues of their favourite water, which with many may be considered as their idol, to some one or more of the ingredients now demonstrated in the Thames, and to be found, in some degree, in all waters simple as well as medicated. Upon looking into any of our modern thermal physicians, it will readily appear, that they ascribe sulphur and bitumen, and even give the epithets sulphureous or bituminous, to certain waters, for no better reason than an oily substance appearing in their residue as here. The sensible will assuredly beware of confiding in such waters as sulphureous, when all he meets, whether hot or cold, are generally such in some measure. And who should trust the physician who relies on any water for sulphureous  
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qualities, which are found as plenty in springs, rivers, lakes, and ponds, as in his boasted bath !”

Of the water of the New River, examined with the same care, he determines,

“ That these waters may with safety and propriety be used, wherever a pure soft water is requisite, for drinking or bathing, for washing or bleaching, for dressing of food, animal and vegetable, in the ways of baking or boiling, for making malt and for brewing, for preparing medicines by infusion, decoction, distillation, &c. But, for the exact dilution of solutions for precipitations, for the washing of the magisteries, for the dyeing the tenderer colours, for the accurate crystallization of salts, and the like operations, purer waters should be sought by the curious operator.”

He then passes from the culinary or domestic to the medical uses of water, which he explains with great copiousness. As the cold bath is the common form in which water is applied, we shall conclude the extract of this month with some directions which may promote its success.

“ They who accustom their children from earliest infancy to frequent immersion or washing in cold water, will have the comfort of seeing them grow up vigorous and healthful ; and they who observe in themselves the great benefits accruing from this salutary use of cold water, besides the pleasure it affords when thus made familiar, will be induced to continue the use and benefit of it to the last stages of life ; such will be found to escape rickets, coughs, rheums, rheumatisms, and the lamentable train of evils that attends those who, by too great tenderness and warmth in their youth, are rendered feeble and enervate, decrepid and old, before half their glass is run. They who are thus  
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early inured to the use of water require no previous preparation, no particular regard to seasons; they wash in hot and cold seasons alike, and reap the pleasure and emolument. I know a gentleman, not far from 80 years of age, who early in life launched out into trade, and continues it with great vigour, profit, and reputation: For many years this gentleman has accustomed himself to a singular kind of cold bath: he sits or stands naked, while a servant wraps him up in a sheet dipped in cold water: and continues in this some 20 or 30 minutes every morning winter and summer; and in return, enjoys the most uninterrupted state of health.

“ But such as have not been early or long accustomed to this familiar use of water, must have recourse to it with caution.

“ Care must be taken that the bowels must be free and sound, void of obstruction, inflammation, or exulceration.

“ That there be not too great a fulness in the first or second passages: in either of which cases, proper evacuation by bleeding, vomiting, or purging, as the exigency of the case, and the circumstances of the patient may require, should precede the use of cold bathing.

“ The times of bathing are when the stomach and intestinal channel and the bladder are most empty, as in a morning soon after the natural discharges are made.

“ The properest season for cold bathing in general, I take to be the colder seasons, not the hot, which are too frequently recommended: its effects depend upon the constitution of the patient. It warms the sanguine and robust, and in such promotes perspiration. The phlegmatic and weak it cools; and obstructs their perspiration

spiration. But in such very delicate constitutions as cannot bear the shock of extreme cold, care is to be taken to attemperate the coldness of the water to their particular case and constitution; or, after beginning in the warmer weather, continue the bathing to, or through, the cold season, as the nature and necessity of the case may require.

“ No person is to stay in the cold water till it benumbs or thoroughly chills him: And as cold bathing is in general intended as a strengthener, the water by its coldness and pressure bringing on an universal contraction of the solids; this intention must be frustrated by tarrying long in the water; for then it becomes capable of resolving and relaxing these fibres which it is employed to brace up and strengthen.

“ Cold, as well as hot bathing, is best administered in a discumbent posture, as that in which all parts of the body are left in motion, or most at rest; for then the action of the water is most equal and universal: always observing that the head be not the last part immersed.

“ The tender and delicate should be forbidden to move or speak much whilst they remain in the water; because moving the organs of breathing or speech, or any of the limbs, whilst under the additional pressure of the water, may greatly distress and injure feeble parts. Those whose limbs or fingers are apt to be contracted, stiffened, or benumbed, by the cold bath, should not persevere in the use of it.

“ Then the coldness of the water may be occasionally increased at any time by the addition of divers salts, which serve at the same time to increase its weight and pressure.

“ All volatile alkaline salts increase the cold of water;

ter; whereas the fixed alkalis cause the contrary effect.

“ The vitriolic salts slightly increase the cold of water, alum a little more, borax more than alum, common salt more than borax, common nitre more than salt, and salt ammoniac most of all.

“ The proportions the chief of these bear to one another, as set down by M. Van Musschenbroek, stand thus :

“ Roch alum powdered, two drams added to two ounces of water, each of the degrees of heat of 44 by the thermometer,—caused no sensible change upon mixture, but in about half an hour fell to 43½.

“ 2. Borax dried and powdered, two drams added to one ounce and a half of water, each of 45 degrees of heat,—mixed, caused a sensible change by falling to 43.

“ 3. Sea salt dried, and water of the same temperament and in like quantity,—fell from 45 to 41 upon mixture.

“ 4. Common nitre or saltpetre, in like proportion and of the same temperament,—sensibly changed as the nitre dissolved, till it fell from 45 to 31.

“ 5. Salt ammoniac and water, in like proportions and of the same temperament,—fell from 45 to 27.

“ Thus may cold baths be medicated, their coldness, and with that their weight and pressure increased, and other qualities changed, according to the intentions of the judicious physician.

“ The vitriols, which are metals chiefly iron and copper, dissolved in the universal acid, and verdigris, which is copper corroded by a vegetable fermented



acid ; all increase, in some degree, the coldness of water upon mixture. But we must take care to avoid the common error of imagining, that waters impregnated with these or any other salts, are always to be found cold in proportion to the degree of saturation ; for these and all such like solutions must come to the temperature of the atmosphere or vessel in which they stand. So that though the cold of water be sensibly increased upon adding these salts till they be dissolved, yet the coldness sensibly decreases in proportion to the warmth of the air, as soon as the solution is completed ; after which the heat or cold of the water will depend upon other accidents, as before observed.

“ The judicious will also be cautious in the use of waters thus diversly impregnated ; as their effects upon the solids and fluids must be very different from that of simple water.”

On these directions we shall venture the following remarks.

It is incident to physicians, I am afraid, beyond all other men, to mistake subsequence for consequence, to use the fallacious inference *post hoc, ergo propter hoc*. “ The old gentleman,” says Dr Lucas, that uses the cold bath, “ enjoys in return an uninterrupted state of health.” This instance does not prove that the cold bath produces health, but only that it will not always destroy it. He is well with the bath, he would have been well without it. I have known, every man has known, old men scrupulously careful to avoid cold, who enjoyed in return an uninterrupted state of health.

The caution not to bathe with a full stomach is just, though it is violated every summer day without hurt.

The rules about the posture to be used in the bath,

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and the directions to forbear to speak during the action of the water, are refinements too minute to deserve attention. He is past much hope from baths to whom speech or silence can make any difference.

From the dream of medicating a cold bath, a man may be soon awakened by computing the quantity of salts necessary to increase its coldness, and how much more must be added to make any perceptible alteration in its pressure.

The succeeding parts of Dr Lucas's book contain analytical examinations of the waters found in the most celebrated and frequented medicinal springs or baths. In foreign waters, though indeed often visited, but more commonly by voluptuousness or curiosity than sickness, the natives of this island have little interest, and we shall therefore pass over his observations upon them without extract or selection: But our own waters of Bath, to which almost all the wealthy and all the wretched make an annual resort; to which those have recourse to whom baffled physicians prescribe change of place, or exhausted luxury prompts change of pleasure; the baths from which such multitudes expect either ease of pain or increase of happiness, deserve to be considered with particular attention.

Sickness will fly to any place where health is promised: but what should draw the happy and the healthy to Bath, it is not easy to discover, since all that Bath can afford preferably to any other place, the luxury of a warm fountain, is polluted by the most brutal grossness, and impeded by the most troublesome inconvenience. "The shameful abuse of these celebrated waters must evidently appear upon considering the present method of bathing in Bath. In the first place, here are no places for undressing upon going in  
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to the bath, nor for taking a bed or for dressing upon coming out. Every bather must then be carried undressed from his lodgings; must take his chance for the temperature of the air, as well as of that of the bath; which, for its size, the time required for filling it, and its exposure to the variable open air, can never be determined two days, or perhaps two hours, together: he must go in exposed to the eyes of the multitude, for whose entertainment the pump-room windows overlook the king's bath, on one side, for the amusement of persons of a certain rank; whilst the other sides are environed with a parapet-wall, by way of balustrade, to make a gallery for the convenience of the numberless spectators of the lowest class, who divert themselves there with the sight of the bathers as at a bull or bear beating. In this way, a poor patient must perambulate a pavement, more unequal than that of many of their streets; in some places covered with large loose pebbles, fit for mending the high-ways by way of gravel. After wading along a considerable space of this rugged way, which no patient can be supposed to do without the assistance of the pressure of the water, and an attendant in the same attire, called a *guide*: Thus supported and conducted, a person may pass along through a crowd of bathers, guides, and spectators, of both sexes and of all ranks; and when the severity of the weather requires it, he may sometimes shelter himself like a statue in a niche, if he comes time enough before they be all taken up. After making the destined circuit, he is conducted back to the slip, a narrow shaded place with stairs, by which the bathers slip or go in and out: here he is stripped of his wet garb, gets on a dry flannel shirt, is wrapped up in blankets, and sent home in a chair to his lodgings,

there to take his bed, to cool, or to sweat if he can, according to the directions of his physician.

“ In the next place, to guard against the inclemency of the weather, as well as to conceal ones nakedness from the eyes of the multitude; every bather, like his attendant, is dressed in a tight canvas jacket and drawers, with a cap upon his head; all which he wears in coming from his lodgings to the bath. This, or any other attire, must help to frustrate the intention and the end of bathing; as the skin cannot come freely into contact with more water than at first going into the baths passes through and fills this garment; nor can the body with decency at any time, in the public view of bathers and spectators of both sexes, nor with safety in the open air, at other times, be washed and rubbed, as it should be to answer fully the purposes of bathing.

“ In the third place, the baths can be had only at certain hours in the forenoon: and to complete the absurdity of the political as well as medicinal administration of these baths, the patients, regardless of their ranks or necessities, are peremptorily prohibited to bathe on Sundays; for though the worshipful head and members of the government never are known to refuse to draw beer or brandy, or to sell any other of their wares on Sundays, and though every other form of medicine may be purchased, bathing, however necessary, is not to be permitted. In this respect, the ox or the ass falling into a pit at Bath, is not to be helped out on the Sabbath-day; to show their regard to the founder of our religion, who taught the reverse. Moreover, as bathing in one particular bath must necessarily be prescribed to numbers of both sexes and at the same time, there must be a promiscuous bathing of sexes, which decency and common sense, as well as physical reasoning,

reasoning, must condemn. The women, it is true, are clothed. Formerly they wore drawers like the men; now they wear loose canvass shifts, girded about the waist, or waistcoats, and short petticoats with some leaden weights to prevent their rising with the air-bubbles of the bath-waters; as their female attendants or guides also do. In this they suffer in some measure the same disadvantages with the men. The looser garb is certainly the better. But the bathing of numbers together, though of either sex, is extremely inelegant, as well as irrational. The more breathe the same confined air together, the worse that air must necessarily be made. Yea, we know that confined air, by much breathing in it, becomes, instead of wholesome, noxious to every animal. Who can be ignorant that water suffers in the same proportion? Who is there so uncleanly as to wash his feet, or even dip his fingers, in the water used by another? And shall persons of any sense of elegance, decency, or reason, go into a bath in which not only the hands and feet, but the whole bodies of both sexes, foul and distempered as they may be, are at once immersed and washed? Sure the vile, base custom needs no more than to be thus cursorily exposed, to render it detested and avoided as it deserves! What a reproach is it to our physic and polity, that this reformation has been so much and so long wanted! That while some have found it their interest to furnish out theatres, magnificent rooms not equalled out of Britain, for balls, concerts, assemblies; in short, while ample provision is made for all the ordinary entertainments and amusements, there appears nothing done with a design to make the drinking or bathing in the waters effectual, commodious, or even safe! For, besides the inconveniences and the

danger attending the use of the barbarous baths, there is not a covered way to walk in after drinking, but patients must sit or stand in the pump-room; which, from its situation, structure, and pavement, must be too hot in summer and as much too cold in winter. So that, upon the whole, there appears no more contrivance, design, or regularity, no more provision for the sick, no more thought of seconding the efficacy of the waters, than if Bath had been as completely deserted as it is crowded by physicians, apothecaries, and chirurgeons.

“ To this it probably may be objected, that I expose faults which are not to be corrected; that they have been observed and animadverted upon with due concern by many before me; but that no means could be found of remedying the evils. To this I answer, that none evil is easier remedied: it is evident that the quantity of water discharged by the smallest of these sources is sufficient to furnish a considerable number of baths, great and small. But suppose there was none other source than that of the king's bath, it is easy to calculate, from the quantity of water by that in a few hours discharged, that this alone could be made to supply, at all hours of the day, a greater number of baths than are generally wanting there. But as we find the king's bath source discharges about one thousand and sixty tuns in twenty-four hours; that of the cross bath about one hundred and ten tuns in the same time, and that of the hot bath about one hundred and twelve tuns in the like space, it is easy to compute how many baths may be filled with new water in the day, allowing one tun to a bath for a single person. The method of distributing them is most simple and easy: it is but inclosing the great source, as at Aken, with

with a thick, strong, close cemented, stone wall, in the form of a cistern, of a convenient height, arching it closely over, the better to confine the vapour, as well as the heat of the waters; leaving an opening, with a well adapted cover, by which the vegetable scum, hitherto looked upon as sulphur, should at convenient times be removed in the warm seasons, when alone it rises. From such a conduit as this, it is easy to conceive how these waters, in the highest perfection, may be conveyed to all the lower part of the town by pipes or aqueducts of other kinds. If then, in the places of the present shamefully rude and barbarous baths, proper houses were built, with all the fit accommodations for decent, regular, and rational, baths, as in the ancient Roman baths, or those of Aken; they may be sure of a copious supply of water, in greater perfection than it can now be had, as well as with vapour baths, which are now unknown in this city. There need be no promiscuous bathing of the sexes; none impediment from garments; no danger of imbibing the foulness or diseases of another body: for every individual, where it should be found necessary, might have a particular private bath, as well as a bed contiguous, and all the other requisites for bathing decently, commodiously, rationally, and effectually."

Dr Lucas then proceeds to analyse the waters which have been hitherto universally, or almost universally, believed to be sulphureous. Lucas has, I believe, irrefragably shown, that whatever else they may contain they are without sulphur.

Of the sulphureous impregnation two evidences supposed invincible were produced; one a sulphur, or sulphureous concrete floating on the water; the other

the known practice of making shillings become guineas, or of giving silver a yellow tinge.

Of the sulphur found in the water this is his account.

“ I was desired to call to any of the guides for Bath sulphur, as they who were accustomed to collect and apply it to the patients would undoubtedly give me the right sort. Having thus had recourse to the guides, for greater certainty, I readily procured some specimens of this Bath sulphur, which were approved to be right by those that put me in this method of procuring it. But I was not at all undeceived. I was now only certified what it was that had been thus taken for sulphur, which was only what I had before observed and collected myself, a fair vegetable, a minute aquatic plant; which, though evident to the senses of sight, touch, and smell, Mr Thomas Haviland the apothecary, of all that I conversed with or heard of at Bath, was the only person I met skilful enough in botany to perceive it to be but an aquatic plant !

“ I took of this substance, which smelled like others of its tribe, and had a ferrugineous taste, from the chalybeate scum of the water, which arose and mixed with this minute vegetable, so that the one could not be well gathered without the other. I washed off the mud that adhered to it, and could then distinctly see its minute more than capillary, stalks, or fibres, like shreds of a fine deep green silk, and showed them to several others. Mr Woulfe, a most ingenious naturalist and chemist, who assisted me in mine experiments, then at Bath, and Mr Vaughan the chirurgeon, observed the same. It answered all the characteristics of the small aquatic plants before mentioned, under the title of *Alga* or *Conserva*.”

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The yellow tincture imparted to silver he has very carefully traced to its true cause ; and gives the following history of the process.

“ A clean silver spoon, standing some hours in the water, showed not the least visible tendency to yellow. The same experiment tried at the pump, under a continual current of hot water, had no better success. Then clean silver leaf, beat out of coppelled silver, was set in a large glass, and filled with water from the pump, where it was kept for eight hours, first the water often renewed without any sensible change ; and then for twenty-four hours, in the like manner, without inclining perceptibly to any shade of yellow. I repeated these experiments several times to no better effect ; and at length presumed to conclude in mine own mind, with great submission to these potent dispensers of fire and brimstone, and all self-sufficient dictators, that they were all, in this at least, mistaken.

“ Being by repeated accurate trials assured of the truth of mine experiments, I ventured to mention their result publicly ; when I received for answer from some, that the existence of sulphur was too well attested by the authority of ancient and modern writers and practitioners, to admit of any doubt at this day ; that the fact was known to the guides or attendants of the baths ; and that if I give any of them some shillings, they would soon bring them to me tinged, as if gilded, so that they might pass for guineas.” I gave one of the guides some shillings, which he soon returned to me of a clean, bright, pale guinea-colour. The fact was not to be denied, and the gainfayer must be a fool in common estimation. But how this was done now remained to be shown. It was first said to be done by the Bath-water. But, that being denied, as plainly impossible,

impossible, with a boldness that favoured more of truth than discretion ; the waters and mud were then said to be both necessary. Upon desiring then to see the gilding thus performed, it was at first evaded, and at length positively refused ; being, as was alleged, a secret of great import.

“ I now saw the fraud clearly ; for if the Bath waters mud, or any thing else, properly belonging to the baths, were really concerned in this pretended gilding or tinging of silver, why should it not be done as openly and publicly as the matter was by all ranks asserted for a fact ?

“ I could not be insensible of the various ways of tinging silver yellow. I readily and clearly saw this was neither really gilded nor lacquered, but actually tinged, as in some such solution of a phlogistic body, as we have before mentioned. Desirous to come at the truth, I was obliged to fall in with the too universal mode, and bribe the under-priest of the mysteries only to let me see his operation.”

“ He pretended artfully, that the mud of the baths was what, by a peculiar management known only to a few of his brethren, by which, I hope, he meant only the guides, produced the golden effect. I saw him collect the mud and attended him to his own house, where I found his wife was the more dexterous in the fraudulent operation. Having first scoured well the pieces to be gilded with fine sand, she poured some hot water out of a kettle upon the mud in an earthen basin. Into this mixture she threw the scoured shillings and rubbed them in it with her fingers ; but without producing any sensible effect. Then she took up a quart bottle and poured a little of its liquid contents into the muddy mixture ; upon which the shillings

lings began to change their aspect and turn yellow ; she continued rubbing them, now and then adding some of the liquor in the bottle, till she brought them to the desired colour : then she washed them slightly with the warm water, and dried them. Thus was the silver evidently tinged of a golden colour.

“ I must have wanted the sense of smelling, as well as be void of all knowledge in chemistry, did I not discover this secret at sight and smell of the operation. I took another clean shilling and showed them they need not be at that trouble, since what was in the bottle alone was sufficient for the purpose ; so pouring a little of the secret odoriferous juice upon this clean shilling, tinged it instantly as deep, though not as equal, as those that were rubbed with the mud. Neither Bath water, nor any thing that enters its composition, is concerned in this operation, which is performed by what offends the senses even at naming, putrid urine only, without any thing related to these baths.”

It is of more importance to know what diseases these waters will cure than of what ingredients they are compounded: we shall conclude this extract with the author's opinion of their virtues.

“ Whatsoever disorders may be relieved by dilution with warm water, charged with a mineral spirit of the acid kind, with a more heavy acid of the vitriolic kind, and by their means, impregnated with a very small portion of iron, a considerable quantity of absorbent earth and selenite, with a little sea-salt, and less Glauber's salt ; I say, whatever such a composition, most exquisitely performed by the inimitable chemistry of nature, may, Bath water must, effect ; but no more.

“ Whatever discords, then, derive their origin from an acrimony, not acescency, of the juices ; whatever

ever disorders spring from an alkalescency of the humours, such as a redundance or preternatural acrimony of the bile, with putrescency in the fluids or bowels; there, the feverish commotions being previously allayed, Bath waters will be found a sovereign remedy.

“ But wherever, if ever, it has been found serviceable in opposite indications; there the effects must be attributed to the predominancy of the watery element, with the little pittance of iron which it contains.

“ In all choleric complaints, whether their effects be felt in the first or second passages, or upon the surface of the skin, in the variety of eruptions and foulnesses that come under the denomination of bilious, in the putrid and alkalescent state of the juices, attending a long continuance of these disorders; or brought on by foul, luxurious feeding upon putrifying animal food, with sharp hot sauces, the modes of our wife and polite days; by consequent putrid fevers; or by long voyages at sea, wherein men are generally forced to live upon salt and stale provisions, unwholesome beverage, and foul air; in the rheumatic and other sharp pains in the bowels and limbs attending these complaints; in spasms, palsies, hypochondriac and hysteric passions and other nervous disorders arising from this cause: Bath water must prove one of the best remedies within the compass of human knowledge, as it must dilute the humours, blunt and correct their acrimony, resist their putrefaction, and promote their expulsion by the proper emunctories; and at the same time tend to brace up the solids to the natural tone.

“ Hence it is easy to conceive in what a variety of cases Bath waters may be rationally and successfully administered.

“ Bath waters may sometimes be found serviceable  
where

where they do not at first sight appear indicated, but rather the contrary. How can Bath waters, being found useful to gouty and nephritic persons, as in some instances it has been, be accounted for upon the principles laid down? In mine apprehension, it can only be done in this manner: simple dilution is the basis of every known remedy in these disorders. A compound fluid, whose solid contents are but about seventeen grains in a pint, cannot be supposed void of that requisite. The solid contents, especially the terrene, which make about twelve parts of the seventeen, cannot, in this vehicle, be of any sort of service, and may possibly be the reverse; by increasing the calculous matter; and the acid must tend to thicken the juices, and consequently to lay a foundation for an increase of the malady. Yet the patients are confessedly relieved! But how?—If by superabundant bile, the stomach and bowels have been irritated and weakened, the appetite and digestion vitiated, the secretions and excretions disturbed or interrupted; whereby the gout is rendered irregular. Bath water, agreeable to our theory, will ease and strengthen the stomach and bowels, restore the lost functions, and soon after bring on a regular fit; which being the crisis by which the disorder is relieved, the patient necessarily grows better, easier, and stronger, than for some time before he could have been. In this salutary change, however, the watery element bears no small share; as has been explained in treating of simple warm water. And upon the same principle do these waters become useful in some particular nephritic cases, without being therefore justly to be enumerated among the fit medicines for the stones, gravel, or gout.

“ To me then it plainly appears, that the waters of Bath are most effectual, most excellent remedies, in  
all

all disorders that arise from the reverse of acids, choler, or bile, or an alkalescency in the juices, and vices there-to consequent, induced in the state of the solids; for which they could not possibly be found proper, had they, as has been long falsely imagined and asserted, been charged, like some of the baths of the ancients to which they are unjustly compared, with bitumen, sulphur, or nitre; the contrary of which, both from theory and practice, appears.

“ I must remark, that the doses commonly given of Bath waters, with or without the medley of medicines usually mixed with them, can be found of very little real benefit. Let any sensible man, however unassisted with physical reasoning, but judge what can be effected by a pint of water warmed and impregnated to the pitch pointed out in Bath water; what is to be expected from the proportions of the ingredients of this composition, jointly or separately taken? The water of almost every common pump contains in general almost as much earth as any of the waters of Bath; and some salt partly of the same nature, less indeed in quantity. No man that drinks water, baulks at a pint, two, or three of such a water in the day. The addition of a mineral acid, with a small proportion of another neuter salt and a very small quantity of iron, must undoubtedly make some difference; yet not surely such as can authorise the confining patients, even of the robust kind, to a pint a day for months, and much less to three or four ounces a day two or three times a week, as is frequently the case at Bath. The more ancient, who certainly were not much more ignorant of the nature of these waters, nor less empirical than the more modern practitioners, gave their patients more of the waters, and less shop medicines than their successors. The

former gave them hardly from a pint or two at a time, to five, six, eight, or ten, pints a day at proper intervals, according as the stomach and bowels would bear them, without offence or inconvenience to the patient. And if their records bear truth, which even their dissenting followers are forced to confess, the practice of those who gave them thus by the pint, was attended with infinitely greater and better success than can be boasted to attend that of those who have since measured them out strictly by the ounce.

“ All extremes are bad. And as nothing is to be expected from the pittance of the more modern practitioners, than what they themselves seem to look for, the detaining the patients at Bath, to favour the opportunity of giving plenty of other medicines; so on the other hand, some mischief may be dreaded from large and sudden draughts. I think they had best be taken at half a pint at a time, at convenient intervals, as far as four, six, or eight such glasses in the forenoon; one or two at an hour or two's distance before dinner; and as much about the same time before supper. Rarely, if ever, at meals, as they can but ill, if at all, assist digestion.

“ It behoves the more weakly and delicate to be more cautious in commencing a course of these waters; and none should take them without previously emptying the first passages with some simple, saline, or manna purge. Those of tender frames will find it best to begin with one of the cooler waters, as that of the cross bath, for example; and at first, take no more than a quarter of a pint at a time, and not above a glass or two a day for some days; then increasing it gradually insensibly to the quantity requisite, and then gradually exchanging it for the hottest, where that is found necessary;

cessary ; and after taking it thus the stated time, diminishing the quantity, and changing the water in the same order and proportion in which it was augmented.

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*Geographical, historical, political, philosophical, and mechanical Essays ; the first, containing an analysis of a general Map of the middle British Colonies in America ; and of the Country of the Confederate Indians. A description of the face of the Country, the boundaries of the Confederates ; and the maritime and inland Navigations of the several Rivers and Lakes contained therein. By LEWIS EVANS.*

**N**OTHING in this world is simply good. Peace, the great blessing of the world, produces luxury, idleness, and effeminacy. Scarcely any thing is simply evil. War among its numerous miseries has sometimes useful consequences. The last war between the Russians and Turks made geographers acquainted with the situation and extent of many countries little known before in the north of Europe ; and the war now kindled in America, has incited us to survey and delineate the immense wastes of the western continent by stronger motives than mere science or curiosity could ever have supplied, and enabled the imagination to wander over the lakes and mountains of that region, which many learned men have marked as the seat destined by Providence for the fifth empire.

At



At what time, or whether at any time, their prediction will be verified; no human sagacity can discover; but as power is the constant and unavoidable consequence of learning, there is no reason to doubt that the time is approaching when the Americans shall in their turn have some influence on the affairs of mankind, for literature apparently gains ground among them. A library is established in Carolina; and some great electrical discoveries were made at Philadelphia, where the map and treatise which we are now about to consider were likewise printed and engraved.

Westward the seat of empire takes its way:

The four first acts already past,

The fifth shall end the drama with the day;

Time's noblest product is the last.

Bp. BERKLEY.

To this great event the present inland war cannot fail to contribute, as the inhabitants will necessarily become better versed in the military arts, and the Indians themselves, as they are courted by one or other of the contending nations, will learn the use of European weapons, and the convenience of European institutions. They will at least in time learn their own importance, and will be incited to attempt something more than the chase of beavers, when they are once convinced that something more may be performed.

The map is engraved with sufficient beauty, and the treatise written with such elegance as the subject admits, though not without some mixture of the American dialect; a tract of corruption to which every language widely diffused must always be exposed.

The general account which Mr Evans gives of his map, may afford some hints for the improvement of geographical projections.

“ It comprises such an extent, as is connected with that very valuable country on the Ohio, which is now the object of the British and French policy, and the different routes of both nations thither. The lake Ontario is equally open to both ; to the one, by the river St Lawrence ; to the other, by the rivers Hudson, Mohoks, and Seneca. But the French having, 30 years ago, fixed themselves on the straits of Niagara by building fortresses on lands confessedly British, secured the key on that side to all the country westward. Those in power see at last its consequence, and are projecting the recovery of it ; and with great judgment for that purpose, are establishing a naval force on lake Ontario, as very necessary in the recovery and securing of it. The issue of this enterprize will have great influence on our affairs, and of all things it becomes the colonies to push it on with vigour. If they succeed here, the remainder of the work will be easy ; and nothing so without it. The English have several ways to Ohio ; but far the best is by Potomack.

“ By reason of the little acquaintance the public has with these remote parts, where the country is yet a wilderness, and the necessity of knowing the ways of travelling there, especially by water ; in the map is pointed out the nature of the several streams ; as where rapid, gentle, or obstructed with falls, and consequently more or less fitted for inland navigation with canoes, boats, or larger vessels ; and where the portages are made at the falls, or from one river, creek, or lake, to another. And for distinguishing the extent of the marine navigation, the places that the tide reaches, in the several rivers, are pointed out. And in these sheets, both the marine and inland navigation are treated of at length.

“ As

“ As the nature of the soil and streams depend upon the elevation and depression of the land, I have particularly explained here the different stages that it is divided into. It were to be wished that we had like accounts of all countries ; as such would discover to us great regularity, where an unattentive observer would imagine there was nothing but confusion ; and at the same time explain the climates, the healthiness, the produce, and conveniences for habitations, commerce, and military expeditions, to a judicious reader in a few pages, better than volumes of remarks on places drawn without these distinctions.

“ To render this map useful in commerce, and in ascertaining the boundaries of lands, the time of high water at the full and change of the moon, and the variation of the magnetical needle, are laid down. But as these deserve particular explanations, I have, for want of room, concluded to treat of them at large in a separate essay.

“ Along the western margin of the map is a line representing the greatest lengths of days and nights (without allowance for the refraction), which will assist travellers in forming some judgment of the latitude of places, by the help of their watches only.

“ Though many of these articles are almost peculiar to the author's maps, they are of no less importance than any thing that has yet had a place amongst geographers. But want of room in the plate has obliged me to leave out what would have very much assisted my explanation of the face of the country, I mean a section of it in several directions: such would have exhibited the rising and falling of the ground, and how elevated above the surface of the sea ; what parts are

level, what rugged ; where the mountains rise, and how far they spread. Nor is this all that a perpendicular section might be made to represent ; for, as on the upper side, the elevations, depressions, outer appearances, and names of places, may be laid down ; on the lower, the nature of the soil, substrata, and particular fossils, may be expressed. It was with regret I was obliged to omit it. But in some future maps of separate colonies, I hope to be furnished with more room.

“ The present, late, and ancient seats of the original inhabitants are expressed in the map ; and though it might be imagined that several nations are omitted, which are mentioned by authors ; it may be remarked, that authors, for want of knowledge in Indian affairs, have taken every little society for a separate nation ; whereas they are not truly more in number than I have laid down. I have been something particular in these sheets in representing the extent of the country of the confederates or five nations ; because, whatever is theirs, is expressly acceded to the English by treaty with the French.”

He has given a short table of latitude, which will likewise be of use to those who shall construct general maps. As he writes chiefly for America, he places his meridian at the State-house in Philadelphia ; but to facilitate the comparison of his map with others, he has added a computation of degrees from London.

“ The principal observations of latitude are these,

Boston :	42	25	
N. Boundary	}	42	2
Connecticut			
New York	40	42	
N. Station Point	41	40	

} By Governor Burnet.

} By the Jersey and N. York Commissioners, 1719.

Phi-

Philadelphia	39	57	} By L. Evans.
Shamokin	40	40	
Owege	41	45	
Onandaga	42	55	
Oswego	43	17	
Sandy-Hook	40	28	} By Colonel Fry.
Ray's Town,	39	59	
Shannopen's			
Town.	40	26	} By Champlain, in 1603.
S. Side of S. St.			
Louis.	45	18	
Ville Marie,	45	27	

As this treatise consists principally of descriptions of roads disfigured by Indian names, and of authorities on which the map depends, it scarcely admits of extract or epitome. There are, however, interspersed some observations, like green spots among barren mountains, from which our readers will obtain a just idea of the situation and state of those untravelled countries.

“ To recount all the surveys of roads, tracts of land, and general lines that I have been favoured with in the composition of my former map, which makes so considerable a part of this, would be endless: but I must not omit here to repeat, with gratitude, my thanks, not only for the favours many gentlemen did me, but the cheerfulness they showed in assisting in a design intended for public service. It would have been almost impossible to have succeeded in the composition, notwithstanding all these helps, without my personal knowledge also of almost all the country it contained. One of the greatest mistakes in it arose from my going from Kinderhook to Albany by night, where the skipper deceived me in the distance. An European may be at a loss to know, why there is a necessity for these sorts of helps in making a map of a country; for that

reason it must be observed, that all America, east of Mississippi, low lands, hills, and mountains, is every where covered with woods, except some interval spots of no great extent, cleared by the European colonies. Here are no churches, towers, houses, or peaked mountains to be seen from afar, no means of obtaining the bearings or distances of places, but by the compass and actual mensuration with the chain. The mountains are all almost so many ridges with even tops and nearly of a height. To look from these hills into the lower lands, is but as it were into an ocean of woods, swelled and depressed here and there by little inequalities, not to be distinguished, one part from another, any more than the waves of the real ocean.

“ The uniformity of these mountains, though debarring us of an advantage in this respect, makes some amends in another. They are very regular in their courses, and confine the creeks and rivers that run between; and if we know where the gapes are that let through these streams, we are not at a loss to lay down their most considerable inflections.”

On occasion of mentioning the Indians of Ohio, Mr Evans gives a good account of the French designs and the means of opposing them.

“ I must not omit giving one caution to those in power, in this public manner; for I find from experience, that few are to be benefited from private information. Heretofore we apprehended no greater scheme of the French than making a communication between Canada and the mouth of Mississippi. As this was remote, we thought ourselves but little interested in it. Now they attempt it nigher to us, by the way of Ohio, where they have begun an establishment. If this succeed, it is not Ohio only must fall under their domination,

nion, but the country thence southward to the bay of Mexico. For that reason it becomes the English immediately to establish forts on the Cherokee river, and other passes in the way from Ohio to Mobile, before the French attempt to settle there, or draw off the Cherokees, Chicasaws, or Creeks, from their friendship to the English. And supposing the French should be beaten off from the Ohio, it is ten to one but they will turn their forces, in hopes of better fortune, to the back of Carolina. We charge the Indians with fickleness, but with greater propriety we should charge ourselves with great want of sense or experience, in supposing any nation is to be tied to another by any other thing than interest. The Welinis cultivated a friendship with the English for the sake of trade, and got leave of the confederates to remove nigher them. They showed both affection and resolution in the defence of the English at the Tawightawi town, where they lost out of 70 not less than 22 warriors on the spot: and tho' the French afterwards offered them very advantageous terms, they still persisted in their affection to us and in their war with the French. Amused with expectation of relief, they were basely abandoned, without arms, and without ammunition, to the resentment of an enraged enemy. It is a custom established with the English to purchase the friendship of wavering nations at a great expence, and to abandon their friends. Hence those who know this mixture of weakness and baseness that possesses us, keep members of council in the French interests as well as ours, as the confederates do, to keep us under a perpetual contribution; while those nations who are truly in our interest are entirely slighted.

“If we secure the country back of Carolina in time,

we shall yet defeat the very point that it is the French interest to pursue ; I mean a communication between the Ohio and Mowille. Whatever we may surmise in regard to the great river Mississippi, being the only channel fitted for the inland commerce of Florida, and no other would suit the French, we should find ourselves extremely mistaken. Even now the French scarce ever come up that river by water, by reason of its great and uniform rapidity, scarce to be stemmed in a canoe and six oars in mid-channel. This obliges the French, in coming up, to take to the river Rouge, notwithstanding they are obliged to make one or two very long portages. The edges are less rapid in the Mississippi, but then the enmity of the Indians on its banks prevents their keeping so near the shore. Therefore, to make what use this river is capable of, the French must secure the country of the Chickasaws and Cherokees; and then Mowille, and not New Orleans, will be the centre of the French trade of Florida ; since the latter, tho' scarce 40 leagues up the Mississippi, by reason of the rapidity of the river, is not reached with ships in less than 30 or 40 days from the mouth ; and Mowille is upon Tide-water. If in pursuit of our present point on Ohio, we show any remissness in our attachment to the safety of those Indians who are our friends, or we neglect to secure the country back of Carolina, the defection of the Indians there is inevitable ; since the French have long known the consequence of it, though much to their cost. The public may be amused with a notion that we have forts and settlements there already, as represented in some maps, published with great authority.—I can only say, that I wish either were true. Itinerant trading is not a settlement, in the sense the English use the word, nor a house built of logs of wood,



wood, without order or artillery, or garrison, a fort in any sense."

The Ontario, on the south-east corner of which stands Oswego, is thus described :

" Ontario, or Cataraqui, is a beautiful lake of fresh water, very deep, and has a moderate steep bank and gravelly shore along the south side : the rivers which fall into it are apt to be sometimes barred at the entrances. This, like the Mediterranean, the Caspian, and other large invafated waters, has a small rifing and falling of the water like tides, fome 12 or 18 inches perpendicular, occafioned by the changes in the ftate of the atmosphere ; rifing higher as the weight of the incumbent air is lefs, and falling as it becomes greater. This lake is beft fitted for the paffage of batteaux and canoes, along the fouth fide ; the other having feveral rocks near the furface of the water ; but the middle is every where fafe for fhipping. The fnow is deeper on the fouth fide of this lake than any other place in thefe parts ; but the lake does not freeze in the fevereft winter out of fight of land. The ftrait of Oghniágara, between the lake Ontario and Erie, is eafily paffable fome five or fix miles with any fhips, or ten miles in all with canoes ; then you are obliged to make a portage up three pretty fharp hills about eight miles, where there is now cut a pretty good cart-way. This portage is made to avoid that ftupendous fall of Oghniágara, which in one place precipitates five or fix and twenty fathoms, and continues for fix or feven miles more to tumble in little falls, and run with inconceivable rapidity. And indeed the ftrait for a mile or two is fo rapid above the fall, that it is not fafe venturing near it. They embark again at the fifhing battery, and thence to Lake Erie it is eighteen miles, and the ftream fo fwift, that  
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the stiffest gale is scarce sufficient to stem it in a ship; but it is easily passed in canoes, where the current here, as in all other places, is less rapid along the shore.

“ Lake Erie has a fine sandy shore on the north side; and in many places such on the other, especially towards the south-east part. The weather and climate of this is far more moderate than that of Ontario.”

He concludes his pamphlet with some observations which may be of great use in the present system of European policy, but which will not prove that this system is right; or in other words, that it is more productive than any other of universal happiness.

“ Were there nothing at stake between the crowns of Britain and France, but the lands on that part of the Ohio included in this map, we may reckon it as great a prize as has ever yet been contended for between two nations; but if we further observe, that this is scarce a quarter of the valuable land that is contained in one continued extent, and the influence that a state, vested with all the wealth and power that will naturally arise from the culture of so great an extent of good land in a happy climate, it will make so great an addition to that nation which wins it, where there is no third state to hold the balance of power, that the loser must inevitably sink under his rival. It is not as two nations at war, contending the one for the other's habitations; where the conquered on submission would be admitted to partake of the privileges of the conquerors; but for a vast country, exceeding in extent and good land all the European dominions of Britain, France, and Spain, almost destitute of inhabitants, and will as fast as the Europeans settle become more so of its former inhabitants. Had his Majesty been made

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acquainted with its value, the large strides the French have been making for several years past in their incroachments on his dominions, and the measures still taken to keep the colonies disunited, and of impeding the generous attempts of his most zealous subjects, it is impossible to conceive that his Majesty would have sacrificed, to the spleen of a few bitter spirits, the best gem in his crown. It is not yet too late to retrieve the whole, provided the British plantations are not thought to be grown already too large—if such an opinion prevails, an opportunity now offers of soon making them less. We may reckon the representation of the extent and power of the plantations being great, and that such power may be dangerous to their mother-country, amongst the greatest of vulgar errors. Any person who knows the nature of the soil, and the extent of our settlements, will confess that all the lands worth the culture from New Hampshire to Carolina, and extended as far back as there are planters settled within three or four miles of one another, though including nine colonies, is not equal in quantity to half the arable land in England. All the whites in the remainder of the British colonies on the continent scarce amount to 120,000 souls. How different is this from the conceits of those who would represent some single colonies as equal to all England! The Massachusetts, though made such a bug-bear, as if its inhabitants were so rich and numerous as that they might one day be able to dispute dominion with England, is not as large as Yorkshire, nor has half so much arable land. Supposing the colonies were grown rich and powerful, what inducement have they to throw off their independency? national ties of blood and friendship, mutual dependencies for support and assistance in their ci-

vil and military interests with England ; each colony having a particular form of government of its own, and the jealousy of any one's having the superiority over the rest, are unfurmountable obstacles to their ever uniting to the prejudice of England, upon any ambitious views of their own. But that repeated and continued ill usage, infringements of their dear-bought privileges, sacrificing them to the ambition and intrigues of domestic and foreign enemies, may not provoke them to do their utmost for their own preservation I would not pretend to say, as weak as they are. But while they are treated as members of one body, and allowed their natural rights, it would be the height of madness for them to propose an independency, were they ever so strong. If they had any ambitious views, a strong colony, of a natural enemy to England, on their borders, would be the only article that would render any attempt of independency truly dangerous ; and for that reason it becomes those who would regard the future interest of Britain and its colonies, to suppress the growth of the French power, and not the English, in America.

“ If his Majesty would be pleased to appoint a colony to be made on the Ohio, with a separate governor, and an equitable form of government, a full liberty of conscience, and the same secured by charter, not all that the French could project would give it any impediment after a few years. The importance of such a colony to Britain would be vastly great, since the climate, and its remoteness from the sea, would turn it immediately to raising raw silk ; an article of vast expence to our nation, which we are at continual difficulties and disappointments in procuring. The charge of carriage of this article from the remotest parts of the  
sea,

sea, is too inconsiderable to affect its value. Ohio is naturally furnished with salt, coal, limestone, grindstone, millstone, clay for glass-houses and pottery, which are of vast advantage to an inland country, and well deserving the notice I take of them in the map.

“ In settling a colony there, let care be taken against the scandalous ingrossing the land by private persons or public companies—and for that purpose, let any piece of land left unimproved three years, after surveying, and containing more than 500 acres to a family, be free for any person to settle on; and the first owner be obliged to go further for land when disposed to settle. And let all lands appropriated and lying unimproved or unsettled be liable to threefold taxes, compared with the adjacent improved lands of like goodness; for supposing one part be allotted for its true value, the remaining two thirds will be far short, at a mean for making up the deficiency of the excise, duties, watching, civil and military services, of those who truly settle and improve.”

Upon these pompous paragraphs, let a man, whose course of life has acquainted him very little with American affairs, venture to make a few observations.

This great country, for which we are so warmly incited to contend, will not be honestly our own though we keep it from the French. It will indeed, he says, be deserted by its inhabitants, and we shall then have an addition of land greater than a fourth part of Europe. This is magnificent in prospect, but will lose much of its beauty on a nearer view. An increase of lands without increase of people gives no increase of power or of wealth, but lies open to assaults without defenders, and may disgrace those who lose it, without enriching those who gain it.

It is indeed supposed by our author to receive inhabitants from Europe ; but we must remember that it will very little advance the power of the English to plant colonies on the Ohio by dispeopling their native country. And since the end of all human actions is happiness, why should any number of our inhabitants be banished from their trades and their homes to a trackless desert, where life is to begin anew, and where they can have no other accommodation than their own hands shall immediately procure them ? What advantage, even upon supposition of what is scarcely to be supposed, an uninterrupted possession and unimpeded improvement, can arise equivalent to the exile of the first planters, and difficulties to be encountered by their immediate descendants ?

We have at home more land than we cultivate, and more materials than we manufacture ; by proper regulations we may employ all our people, and give every man his chance of rising to the full enjoyment of all the pleasures and advantages of a civilized and learned country.

I know not indeed, whether we can at home procure any great quantity of raw silk, which we are told is to be had in so great plenty upon the banks of the Ohio. Away therefore with thousands and millions to those dreadful deserts, that we may no longer want raw silk ! Who that had not observed how much one train of thought sometimes occupies the mind, could think so wild a project seriously proposed ?

The fear that the American colonies will break off their dependence on England, I have always thought, with this writer, chimerical and vain. Yet though he endeavours for his present purpose to show the absurdity of such suspicions, he does not omit to hint at some-

something that is to be feared if they are not well used. Every man and every society is intitled to all the happiness that can be enjoyed with the security of the whole community. From this general claim the Americans ought not to be excluded: but let us not be frightened by their threats; they must be yet dependant: and if they forsake us, or be forsaken by us, must fall into the hands of France.

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*An Essay on the writings and genius of POPE.*

**T**HIS is a very curious and entertaining miscellany of critical remarks and literary history. Though the book promises nothing but observations on the writings of Pope, yet no opportunity is neglected of introducing the character of any other writer, or the mention of any performance or event in which learning is interested. From Pope, however, he always takes his hint, and to Pope he returns again from his digressions. The facts which he mentions, though they are seldom anecdotes in a rigorous sense, are often such as are very little known, and such as will delight more readers than naked criticism.

As he examines the works of this great poet in an order nearly chronological, he necessarily begins with his pastorals, which considered as representations of any kind of life, he very justly censures; for there is in them a mixture of Grecian and English, of ancient and modern, images. Windsor is coupled with Hybla, and Thames with Pactolus. He then compares some passages which Pope  
has

has imitated or translated with the imitation or version, and gives the preference to the originals, perhaps not always upon convincing arguments.

Theocritus makes his lover wish to be a bee, that he might creep among the leaves that form the chaplet of his mistress. Pope's enamoured swain longs to be made the captive bird that sings in his fair one's bower, that she might listen to his songs, and reward them with her kisses. The critic prefers the image of Theocritus as more wild, more delicate, and more uncommon.

It is natural for a lover to wish that he might be any thing that could come near to his lady. But we more naturally desire to be that which she fondles and caresses, than that which she would avoid, at least would neglect. The superior delicacy of Theocritus I cannot discover, nor can indeed find, that either in the one or the other image there is any want of delicacy. Which of the two images was less common in the time of the poet who used it, for on that consideration the merit of novelty depends, I think it is now out of any critic's power to decide.

He remarks, I am afraid with too much justice, that there is not a single new thought in the pastorals; and with equal reason declares, that their chief beauty consists in their correct and musical versification, which has so influenced the English ear, as to render every moderate rhymers harmonious.

In his examination of the Messiah, he justly observes some deviations from the inspired author, which weaken the imagery, and despirit the expression.

On Windsor-forest, he declares, I think without proof, that descriptive poetry was by no means the excellence of Pope; he draws this inference from the  
few



few images introduced in this poem, which would not equally belong to any other place. He must inquire whether Windsor-forest has in reality any thing peculiar.

The Stag-chase is not, he says, so full, so animated, and so circumstantiated as Somerville's. Barely to say, that one performance is not so good as another, is to criticise with little exactness. But Pope has directed that we should in every work regard the author's end. The Stag-chase is the main subject of Somerville, and might therefore be properly dilated into all its circumstances; in Pope it is only incidental, and was to be dispatched in a few lines.

He makes a just observation, "that the description of the external beauties of nature is usually the first effect of a young genius, before he hath studied nature and passions. Some of Milton's most early as well as most exquisite pieces are his Lycidas, 1' Allegro, and 11 penferoso, if we may except his ode on the nativity of CHRIST, which is indeed prior in order of time, and in which a penetrating critic might have observed the seeds of that boundless imagination which was one day to produce the Paradise Lost."

Mentioning Thomson and other descriptive poets, he remarks, that writers fail in their copies for want of acquaintance with originals, and justly ridicules those who think they can form just ideas of valleys, mountains, and rivers, in a garret of the Strand. For this reason I cannot regret with this author, that Pope laid aside his design of writing American pastorals; for as he must have painted scenes which he never saw, and manners which he never knew, his performance, though it might have been a pleasing amusement of fancy,

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would

would have exhibited no representation of nature or of life.

After the pastorals, the critic considers the lyric poetry of Pope, and dwells longest on the ode of St Cecilia's day, which he, like the rest of mankind, places next to that of Dryden, and not much below it. He remarks after Mr Spence, that the first stanza is a perfect concert. The second he thinks a little flat; he justly commends the fourth, but without notice of the best line in that stanza or in the poem:

Transported demigods stood round,

And men grew heroes at the sound.

In the latter part of the ode he objects to the stanza of triumph:

Thus song could reveal, &c.

As written in a measure ridiculous and burlesque, and justifies his answer by observing that Addison uses the same numbers in the scene of Rosamond, between Grideline and Sir Trufty:

How unhappy is he, &c.

That the measure is the same in both passages must be confessed, and both poets perhaps chose their numbers properly; for they both meant to express a kind of airy hilarity. The two passions of merriment and exultation are undoubtedly different; they are as different as a gambol and a triumph, but each is a species of joy; and poetical measures have not in any language been so far refined as to provide for the subdivisions of passion. They can only be adapted to general purposes; but the particular and minuter propriety must be sought only in the sentiment and language. Thus the numbers are the same in Colin's complaint, and in the ballad of Darby and Joan, though in one sadness is represented, and in the other tranquillity; so the measure is the same

same of Pope's Unfortunate Lady and the Praise of Voiture.

He observes very justly, that the odes both of Dryden and Pope conclude unsuitably and unnaturally with epigram.

He then spends a page upon Mr Handel's music to Dryden's ode, and speaks of him with that regard which he has generally obtained among the lovers of sound. He finds something amiss in the air "With ravished ears," but has overlooked or forgotten the grossest fault in that composition, which is that in this line,

Revenge, revenge, Timotheus cries.

He has laid much stress upon the two latter words, which are merely words of connection, and ought in music to be considered as parenthetical.

From this ode is struck out a digression on the nature of odes, and the comparative excellence of the ancients and moderns. He mentions the chorus which Pope wrote for the duke of Buckingham; and thence takes occasion to treat of the chorus of the ancients. He then comes to another ode of "The dying Christian to his Soul," in which finding an apparent imitation of Flatman, he falls into a pleasing and learned speculation on the resembling passages to be found in different poets.

He mentions with great regard Pope's ode on Solitude, written when he was but twelve years old, but omits to mention the poem on Silence, composed, I think, as early, with much greater elegance of diction, music of numbers, extent of observation, and force of thought. If he had happened to think on Baillet's chapter of *Enfans celebres*, he might have made on this occasion a very entertaining dissertation on early excellence.

He comes next to the Essay on Criticism, the stupen-

dous performance of a youth not yet twenty years old; and after having detailed the felicities of condition, to which he imagines Pope to have owed his wonderful prematurity of mind, he tells us that he is well informed this essay was first written in prose. There is nothing improbable in the report, nothing indeed but what is more likely than the contrary; yet I cannot forbear to hint to this writer and all others, the danger and weakness of trusting too readily to information. Nothing but experience could evince the frequency of false information, or enable any man to conceive that so many groundless reports should be propagated as every man of eminence may hear of himself. Some men relate what they think as what they know; some men of confused memories and habitual inaccuracy ascribe to one man what belongs to another; and some talk on without thought or care. A few men are sufficient to broach falsehoods, which are afterwards innocently diffused by successive relaters.

He proceeds on examining passage after passage of this essay; but we must pass over all these criticisms to which we have not something to add or to object, or where this author does not differ from the general voice of mankind. We cannot agree with him in his censure of the comparison of a student advancing in science with a traveller passing the Alps, which is perhaps the best simile in our language; that in which the most exact resemblance is traced between things in appearance utterly unrelated to each other. That the last line conveys no new *idea*, is not true; it makes particular what was before general. Whether the description which he adds from another author be, as he says, more full and striking than that of Pope, is not to be inquired. Pope's description is relative, and can  
admit

admit no greater length than is usually allowed to a simile, nor any other particulars than such as form the correspondence.

Unvaried rhymes, says this writer, highly disgust readers of a good ear. It is surely not the ear but the mind that is offended. The fault rising from the use of common rhymes is, that by reading the past line the second may be guessed, and half the composition loses the grace of novelty.

On occasion of the mention of an alexandrine, the critic observes, that "the alexandrine may be thought a modern measure, but that Robert of Gloucester's wife is an alexandrine, with the addition of two syllables; and that Sternhold and Hopkins translated the psalms in the same measure of fourteen syllables, though they are printed otherwise."

This seems not to be accurately conceived or expressed: an alexandrine with the addition of two syllables, is no more an alexandrine than with the detraction of two syllables. Sternhold and Hopkins did generally write in the alternate measure of eight and six syllables; but Hopkins commonly rhymed the first and third, Sternhold only the second and fourth: so that Sternhold may be considered as writing couplets of long lines; but Hopkins wrote regular stanzas. From the practice of printing the long lines of fourteen syllables in two short lines, arose the licence of some of our poets, who, though professing to write in stanzas, neglect the rhymes of the first and third lines.

Pope has mentioned Petronius among the great names of criticism, as the remarker justly observes without any critical merit. It is to be suspected that Pope had never read his book, and mentioned him on the credit of two or three sentences which he had often

seen quoted, imagining that where there was so much there must necessarily be more. Young men in haste to be renowned, too frequently talk of books which they have scarcely seen.

The revival of learning mentioned in this poem, affords an opportunity of mentioning the chief periods of literary history, of which this writer reckons five; that of Alexander, of Ptolemy Philadelphus, of Augustus, of Leo the tenth, of Queen Anne.

These observations are concluded with a remark which deserves great attention: "In no polished nation, after criticism has been much studied, and the rules of writing established, has any very extraordinary book ever appeared."

The Rape of the Lock was always regarded by Pope as the highest production of his genius. On occasion of this work, the history of the comic hero is given; and we are told that it descended from Fassoni to Boileau, from Boileau to Garth, and from Garth to Pope. Garth is mentioned perhaps with too much honour; but all are confessed to be inferior to Pope. There is in his remarks on this work no discovery of any latent beauty, nor any thing subtle or striking; he is indeed commonly right, but has discussed no difficult question.

The next pieces to be considered are the Verses to the Memory of an unfortunate Lady, the Prologue to Cato, and Epilogue to Jane Shore. The first piece he commends. On occasion of the second he digresses, according to his custom, into a learned dissertation on tragedies, and compares the English and French with the Greek stage. He justly censures Cato for want of action and of characters; but scarcely does justice to the sublimity of some speeches and the philosophical exactness

exactness in the sentiments. “The simile of mount Atlas, and that of the Numidian traveller smothered in the sands, are indeed in character,” says the critic, “but sufficiently obvious.” The simile of the mountain is indeed common; but of that of the traveller I do not remember. That it is obvious is easy to say, and easy to deny. Many things are obvious when they are taught.

He proceeds to criticise the other works of Addison, till the epilogue calls his attention to Rowe, whose character he discusses in the same manner with sufficient freedom and sufficient candour.

The translation of the epistle of Sappho to Phaon is next considered: but Sappho and Ovid are more the subjects of this disquisition than Pope. We shall therefore pass over it to a piece of more importance, the Epistle of Eloisa to Abelard, which may justly be regarded as one of the works on which the reputation of Pope will stand in future times.

The critic pursues Eloisa through all the changes of passion, produces the passages of her letters to which any allusion is made, and intersperses many agreeable particulars and incidental relations. There is not much profundity of criticism, because the beauties are sentiments of nature, which the learned and the ignorant feel alike. It is justly remarked by him, that the wish of Eloisa for the happy passage of Abelard into the other world, is formed according to the ideas of mystic devotion.

These are the pieces examined in this volume: whether the remaining part of the work will be one volume or more, perhaps the writer himself cannot yet inform us. This piece is, however, a complete work, so far as it goes; and the writer is of opinion that he

has dispatched the chief part of his task : for he ventures to remark, that the reputation of Pope as a poet, among posterity, will be principally founded on his *Windsor-Forest*, *Rape of the Lock*, and *Eloisa to Abelard* ; while the facts and characters alluded to in his late writings will be forgotten and unknown, and their poignancy and propriety little relished ; for wit and satire are transitory and perishable, but nature and passion are eternal.

He has interspersed some passages of Pope's life, with which most readers will be pleased. When Pope was yet a child, his father, who had been a merchant in London, retired to Binfield. He was taught to read by an aunt ; and learned to write without a master, by copying printed books. His father used to order him to make English verses, and would oblige him to correct and retouch them over and over, and at last could say, " These are good rhymes."

At eight years of age, he was committed to one Taverner a priest, who taught him the rudiments of the Latin and Greek. At this time he met with Ogleby's Homer, which seized his attention ; he fell next upon Sandys's Ovid, and remembered these two translations with pleasure to the end of his life.

About ten, being at school near Hyde-park-corner, he was taken to the play-house, and was so struck with the splendour of the drama, that he formed a kind of play out of Ogleby's Homer, intermixed with verses of his own. He persuaded the head-boys to act this piece, and Ajax was performed by his master's gardener. They were habited according to the pictures in Ogleby. At twelve he retired with his father to Windsor-Forest, and formed himself by the study in the best English poets.



In this extract it was thought convenient to dwell chiefly upon such observations as relate immediately to Pope, without deviating with the author into incidental inquiries. We intend to kindle, not to extinguish, curiosity, by this slight sketch of a work abounding with curious quotations and pleasing disquisitions. He must be much acquainted with literary history, both of remote and late times, who does not find in this essay many things which he did not know before : and if there be any too learned to be instructed in facts or opinions, he may yet properly read this book as a just specimen of literary moderation.

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*Miscellanies on Moral and Religious Subjects, in Prose and Verse. By ELIZABETH HARRISON.*

**T**HIS volume, though only one name appears upon the first page, has been produced by the contribution of many hands, and printed by the encouragement of a numerous subscription ; both which favours seem to be deserved by the modesty and piety of her on whom they were bestowed.

The authors of the essays in prose seem generally to have imitated, or tried to imitate, the copiousness and luxuriance of Mrs Rowe. This, however, is not all their praise ; they have laboured to add to her brightness of imagery her purity of sentiments. The poets have

have had Dr Watts before their eyes; a writer who, if he stood not in the first class of genius, compensated that defect by a ready application of his powers to the promotion of piety. The attempt to employ the ornaments of romance in the decoration of religion, was, I think, first made by Mr Boyle's *Martyrdom of Theodora*; but Boyle's philosophical studies did not allow him time for the cultivation of style; and the completion of the great design was reserved for Mrs Rowe. Dr Watts was one of the first who taught the dissenters to write and speak like other men, by showing them that elegance might consist with piety. They would have both done honour to a better society; for they had that charity which might well make their failings forgotten, and with which the whole Christian world might wish for communion. They were pure from all the heresies of an age, to which every opinion is become a favourite, that the universal church has hitherto detested.

This praise the general interest of mankind requires to be given to writers who please and do not corrupt, who instruct and do not weary: But to them all human eulogies are vain, whom I believe applauded by angels and numbered with the just.

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*The Dedication of the Evangelical History Harmonized.*

TO THE LORDS SPIRITUAL AND TEMPORAL,  
AND COMMONS, IN PARLIAMENT ASSEMBLED.

**T**HAT we are fallen upon an age in which corruption is barely not universal, is universally confessed. Venality sculks no longer in the dark, but snatches the bribe in public; and prostitution issues forth without shame, glittering with the ornaments of successful wickedness. Rapine preys on the public without opposition, and perjury betrays it without inquiry. Irreligion is not only avowed but boasted; and the pestilence that used to walk in darkness, is now destroying at noon-day.

Shall this be the state of the English nation, and shall her lawgivers behold it without regard? Must the torrent continue to roll on till it shall sweep us into the bottomless gulph of perdition? Surely there will come a time when the careless shall be frightened, and the sluggish shall be roused: when every passion shall be put upon the guard by the dread of general depravity: when he who laughs at wickedness in his companion, shall start from it in his child; when the man who fears not for his soul, shall tremble for his possessions: when it shall be discovered that religion only  
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can secure the rich from robbery and the poor from oppression ; can defend the state from treachery and the throne from assassination.

If this time be ever to come let it come quickly : a few years longer, and perhaps all endeavours will be vain. We may be swallowed by an earthquake ; we may be delivered to our enemies, or abandoned to that discord which must inevitably prevail among men that have lost all sense of divine superintendence, and have no higher motive of action or forbearance than present opinion of present interest.

It is the duty of private men to supplicate and propose ; it is yours to hear and to do right. Let religion be once more restored, and the nation shall once more be great and happy. This consequence is not far distant : that nation must always be powerful where every man performs his duty ; and every man will perform his duty that considers himself as a being whose condition is to be settled to all eternity by the laws of Christ.

The only doctrine by which man can be made *wise unto salvation*, is the will of God, revealed in the books of the Old and the New Testament.

To study the Scriptures, therefore, according to his abilities and attainments, is every man's duty : and to facilitate that study to those whom nature hath made weak, or education has left ignorant, or indispensable cares detained from regular processes of inquiry, is the business of those who have been blessed with abilities and learning, and appointed the instructors of the lower classes of men, by that common Father who distributes to all created beings their qualifications and employments ; and has allotted some to the labour of the hand, and some to the exercise of the mind ; has com-  
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manded some to teach, and others to learn ; has prescribed to some the patience of instruction, and to others the meekness of obedience.

By what methods the unenlightened ignorant may be made proper readers of the word of God, has been long and diligently considered. Commentaries of all kinds have indeed been copiously produced : but there still remain multitudes to whom the labours of the learned are of little use, for whom expositions require an expositor. To those indeed who read the divine books without vain curiosity, or a desire to be wise beyond their powers, it will always be easy to discern the straight path, to find the words of everlasting life. But such is the condition of our nature, that we are always attempting what is difficult to perform : he who reads the Scripture to gain goodness, is desirous likewise to gain knowledge, and by his impatience of ignorance falls into error.

This danger has appeared to the doctors of the Romish church so much to be feared, and so difficult to be escaped, that they have snatched the Bible out of the hands of the people, and confined the liberty of perusing it to those whom literature has previously qualified. By this expedient they have formed a kind of uniformity, I am afraid, too much like that of colours in the dark : but they have certainly usurped a power which God has never given them, and precluded great numbers from the highest spiritual consolation.

I know not whether this prohibition has not brought upon them an evil which they themselves have not discovered. It is granted, I believe, by the Romanists themselves, that the best commentaries on the Bible have been the works of Protestants. I know not indeed whether, since the celebrated paraphrase of Erasmus,

mus, any scholar has appeared amongst them whose works are much valued, even in his own communion. Why have those who excel in every other kind of knowledge, to whom the world owes much of the increase of light which has shone upon these latter ages, failed, and failed only when they have attempted to explain the Scriptures of God? but only because they are in their church less read and less examined, because they have another rule of deciding controversies and instituting laws.

Of the Bible, some of the books are prophetical, some doctrinal, and some historical; some partly doctrinal and partly historical, as the gospels, of which we have in the subsequent pages attempted an illustration. The books of the evangelists contain an account of the life of our blessed Saviour; more particular of the years of his ministry, interspersed with his precepts, doctrines, and predictions. Each of these histories contains facts and dictates related likewise in the rest, that the truth might be established by concurrence of testimony; and each has likewise facts and dictates which the rest omit, to prove that they were wrote without communication.

These writers, not affecting the exactness of chronologers, and relating various events of the same life, or the same events with various circumstances, have some difficulties to him, who, without the help of many books, desires to collect a series of the acts and precepts of Jesus Christ; fully to know his life, whose example was given for our imitation; fully to understand his precepts, which it is sure destruction to disobey.

In this work, therefore, an attempt has been made, by the help of harmonists and expositors, to reduce the  
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four gospels into one series of narration ; to form a complete history out of the different narratives of the evangelists, by inserting every event in the order of time, and connecting every precept of life and doctrine with the occasion on which it was delivered ; showing, as far as history or the knowledge of ancient customs can inform us, the reason and propriety of every action ; and explaining, or endeavouring to explain, every precept and declaration in its true meaning.

Let it not be hastily concluded, that we intend to substitute this book for the gospels, or intrude our own expositions as the oracles of God. We recommend to the unlearned reader to consult us when he finds any difficulty, as men who have laboured not to deceive ourselves, and who are without any temptation to deceive him : but men, however, that while they mean best, may be mistaken. Let him be careful, therefore, to distinguish what we cite from the gospels from what we offer of our own. He will find many difficulties answered ; and if some yet remain, let him remember that God is in heaven and we upon earth, that our thoughts are not God's thoughts, and that the great cure of doubt is an humble mind.

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*The Dedication of Kennedy's Scripture Chronology.*

TO THE KING.

SIR,

**H**AVING, by long labour and diligent inquiry, endeavoured to illustrate and establish the chronology of the Bible, I hope to be pardoned the ambition of inscribing my Work to your Majesty.

An age of war is not often an age of learning; the tumult and anxiety of military preparations seldom leave attention vacant to the silent progress of study, and the placid conquests of investigation. Yet, surely, a vindication of the inspired writers can never be unseasonably offered to the Defender of the Faith; nor can it ever be improper to promote that religion without which all other blessings are snares of destruction; without which armies cannot make us safe, nor victories make us happy.

I am far from imagining that my testimony can add any thing to the honours of your Majesty, to the splendour of a reign crowded with triumphs, to the beauty of a life dignified by virtue. I can only wish, that your reign may long continue such as it has begun, and that the effulgence of your example may spread its  
light



light through distant ages, till it shall be the highest praise of any future monarch, that he exhibits some resemblance of George the Third.

I am,

S I R,

Your Majesty's

Most obedient,

Most devoted, and

Most humble subject,

and Servant,

JOHN KENNEDY.

THE STORY OF THE COCK-LANE GHOST, WITH  
THE ACCOUNT OF ITS DETECTION.

*The following account of the noises and other extraordinary circumstances attending the supposed presence of a ghost in Cock-lane, 1762, together with the detection of that imposture, are transcribed from the Gentleman's Magazine, and were drawn up by Johnson. It was to him that the spirit promised to give a token of its presence by a knock upon the coffin; and it was he who, accompanied with one other person, descended into the vault to claim the promise. For his superstitious credulity on that and other occasions, he incurred much ridicule from men whose inferiority of talents would have made them trem-*

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*ble in his presence ; but who hoped, when he was absent, to wound Religion in the person of her ablest advocate. The friends of revelation will be pleased to find, that in this instance he was not so weakly credulous as is generally imagined ; and that though he was never disposed to prescribe rules to Providence, or to limit the power of God, he was yet careful to investigate the evidence of every thing pretending to be supernatural, and to proportion his faith accordingly.*

**B**ETWEEN the hours of eleven and twelve at night, a gentleman was sent for to the house of one Parsons, officiating parish-clerk of St Sepulchre's in Cock-lane, near West Smithfield, to be witness to the noises and other extraordinary circumstances attending the supposed presence of a spirit, that for these two years past has been heard in the night, to the great terror of the family. To throw some light upon this very mysterious affair, we shall begin with the narrative of Mr Brown of Amen Corner, published January 23d ; the substance of which is as follows :

That in 1759, one Mr K— employed an agent to carry a letter to a young gentlewoman of a reputable family in Norfolk, and to bring her up to London in a post-chaise, if she should be willing to come ; that she did come, but Mr K— being at Greenwich, she followed him there directly, and was received by him, after a journey of 100 miles performed in one day, with much tenderness. After some short stay at Greenwich, where it was thought necessary that she should make a will in his favour, she was removed to a lodging near the Mansion-house ; from thence to lodgings behind St Sepulchre's church ; and lastly, to a house in Bartlet court, in the parish of Clerkenwell. Here in 1760, she was taken

ken ill of the small-pox ; and on or about the 31st of January, her sister, who lived reputably in Pall Mall, was first made acquainted with her illness and place of residence ; and being overjoyed to hear of her, went immediately to see her, and found her in a fair way of doing well. Next day she sent to her, and received a favourable account of her ; but on the morning following, word was brought that her sister was dead. She died Feb. 2d, 1760, and was buried in two or three days after at the church of St John, Clerkenwell, her sister attending the funeral, who was surprised at not seeing a plate on the coffin, and expressed that surprise to Mr Brown after the funeral was over ; lamenting, at the same time, that she had not been permitted to see her sister's corpse, the coffin being screwed down before she came. She added, that K— had married one of her sister's, and had ruined the other, who was buried by the name of —, as appears by the parish register. By the will already mentioned, K— availed himself of her fortune, to the prejudice of her brother and sisters, who all lived in perfect harmony until this unhappy affair happened. Such is the account given by Mr Brown of Amen Corner. A worthy clergyman, however, who attended her several times, and who administered to her the last comforts of his function, declares, that the small-pox with which she was seized, was of the confluent sort, and that the gentlemen of the faculty who attended her, had pronounced her irrecoverable some days before her death.

It is, however, the ghost of this person that Parsons declares has taken possession of his girl, a child about 12 years old, who lay with the deceased in the absence of her supposed husband, when he was in the country at a wedding about two years ago, and then it was that

the knocking was first heard, to the great terror of this child ; she frequently crying out that she might not be taken away. Soon after this woman died, whose apparition is now supposed to appear to this same child ; and in answer to the question put to her on Tuesday night, What was the occasion of the first knocking, &c. before she died ? answered, that it was the spirit of her sister, the first wife of Mr K—, who was husband to them both.

Having now sufficiently prepared the reader, we shall proceed in our narrative : The gentleman already said to have been sent for, attended, and found the child in bed, and the spirit being at hand, several questions were put to it by the father, which to avoid repetition, we shall relate hereafter. The gentleman not caring to pronounce too hastily upon what appeared to him extraordinary, got some friends together, among whom were two or three clergymen, about twenty other persons, and two negroes, and sat up another night.

They first thoroughly examined the bed, bed-cloaths, &c. and being satisfied that there was no visible appearance of a deceit, the child, with its sister, was put into bed, which was found to shake extremely by the gentleman who had placed himself at the foot of it.

Among others, the following questions were asked, Whether the disturbance was occasioned by any ill treatment from Mr K—? yes. Whether she was brought to an untimely end by poison? yes.—In what was the poison administered, beer or purl? purl.—How long before her death? three hours.—Is the person called Carrots able to give information about the poison? yes.—Whether she was K—'s wife's sister? yes.—Whether she was married to K—? no.—Whether any other person than K— were concerned in the poisoning? no.—Whether she could vi-  
sibly

sibly appear to any one? yes.—Whether she would do so? yes.—Whether she could go out of that house? yes.—Whether she would follow the child every where? yes.—Whether she was pleased in being asked questions? yes.—Whether it eased her mind? yes.—[Here a mysterious noise, compared to the fluttering of wings round the room, was heard.]—How long before her death had she told Carrots (her servant) that she was poisoned? one hour.—[Here Carrots, who was admitted to be one of the company on Tuesday night, asserted that the deceased had not told her so, she being at that time speechless.]—How long did Carrots live with her? three or four days.—[Carrots attested the truth of this.]—Whether if the accused should be taken up he would confess? yes.—Whether she should be at ease in her mind if the man was hanged? yes.—How long it would be before he would be executed? three years.—How many clergymen were in the room? three.—How many negroes? two.—Whether she could distinguish the person of any one in the room? yes.—Whether the colour of a watch held up by one of the clergy was white, yellow, blue, or black,? answered black. [The watch was in a black shagreen case.]—At what time she would depart in the morning? at four o'clock.—[Accordingly, at this hour the noise removed to the Wheat-sheaf, a public house, at the distance of a few doors, in the bed-chamber of my landlord and landlady, to the great affright and terror of them both.—Such is the manner of interrogating the spirit; the answer is given by knocking or scratching. An affirmative is one knock; a negative, two. Displeasure is expressed by scratching.

As the impostor will probably soon be discovered, let this short detail suffice to show the tendency of it: the whole of the nonsense would fill a magazine.

\* \* \* \* \*

HAVING in our last given a short history of the impostor in Cock-lane, we are under a necessity of giving an account of the method taken for the detection of the fraud, which though in a great measure eluded by the cunning of the girl who is the principal agent, and by the obstinacy of the father, who perhaps was the contriver of it ; yet it had such an effect as to convince all present, that the girl has some art of counterfeiting particular noises, and that there is nothing preternatural in the responses that are given to the querists on this occasion.

On the night of the 1st of February, many gentlemen, eminent for their rank and character, were, by the invitation of the Rev. Mr Aldrich of Clerkenwell, assembled at his house, for the examination of the noises supposed to be made by a departed spirit, for the detection of some enormous crime.

About ten at night, the gentlemen met in the chamber, in which the girl, supposed to be disturbed by a spirit, had, with proper caution, been put to bed by several ladies. They sat rather more than an hour, and hearing nothing, went down stairs, when they interrogated the father of the girl, who denied, in the strongest terms, any knowledge or belief of fraud.

The supposed spirit had before publicly promised by an affirmative knock, that it would attend one of the gentlemen into the vault under the church of St John, Clerkenwell, where the body is deposited, and give a token of her presence there by a knock upon her coffin: it was therefore determined to make this trial of the existence or veracity of the supposed spirit.

While

While they were inquiring and deliberating, they were summoned into the girl's chamber by some ladies, who were near her bed, and who had heard knocks and scratches. When the gentlemen entered, the girl declared, that she felt the spirit like a mouse upon her back, and was required to hold her hands out of bed. From that time, though the spirit was very solemnly required to manifest its existence, by appearance, by impression on the hand or body of any present, by scratches, knocks, or any other agency, no evidence of any preternatural power was exhibited.

The spirit was then very seriously advertised, that the person to whom the promise was made of striking the coffin, was then about to visit the vault, and that the performance of the promise was then claimed. The company at one o'clock went into the church, and the gentleman, to whom the promise was made, went, with one more, into the vault. The spirit was solemnly required to perform its promise, but nothing more than silence ensued: the person supposed to be accused by the spirit then went down with several others, but no effect was perceived. Upon their return they examined the girl, but could draw no confession from her. Between two and three she desired, and was permitted, to go home with her father.

It was therefore the opinion of the whole assembly, that the child has some art of making or counterfeiting particular noise, and that there is no agency of any higher cause.

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# L E T T E R S.

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*To* DR LAWRENCE,

DEAR SIR,

**A**T a time when all your friends ought to show their kindness, and with a character which ought to make all that know you your friends, you may wonder that you have yet heard nothing of me.

I have been hindered by a vexatious and incessant cough ; for which, within these ten days, I have bled once, fasted four or five times, taken physic five times, and opiates, I think, six. This day it seems to remit.

The loss, dear Sir, which you have lately suffered, I felt many years ago ; and know therefore how much has been taken from you, and how little help can be had from consolation. He who outlives a wife whom he has long loved, feels himself disjoined from the only mind that had the same hopes, and fears, and interest ; from the only companion with whom he has shared much good or evil, and with whom he could set his mind at liberty to retrace the past, or anticipate the future. The continuity of being is lacerated ; the settled course of sentiment and action is stopped ; and life stands suspended and motionless, till it is driven  
by



by external causes into a new channel. But the time of suspense is dreadful.

Our first recourse in this distressful solitude, is, perhaps, for want of habitual piety, to a gloomy acquiescence in necessity. Of two mortal beings, one must lose the other. But surely there is a higher and a better comfort to be drawn from the consideration of that Providence which watches over all; and belief that the living and the dead are equally in the hands of God, who will reunite those whom he has separated, or who sees that it is best not to reunite them,

I am,

Dear Sir,

Your most affectionate, and

Most humble servant,

SAM. JOHNSON.

Jan. 20. }  
1780. }

To

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*To the Reverend CHARLES LAWRENCE, St John's  
College, Cambridge.*

DEAR SIR,

**N**OT many days ago, Dr Lawrence showed me a letter, in which you made mention of me: I hope, therefore, that you will not be displeased that I endeavour to preserve your good-will by some observations which your letter suggested to me.

You are afraid of falling into some improprieties in the daily service, by reading to an audience that requires no exactness. Your fear, I hope, secures you from danger. They who contract absurd habits are such as have no fear. It is impossible to do the same thing very often without some peculiarity of manner; but that manner may be good or bad. To make it very good, there must I think be something of natural or casual felicity which cannot be taught.

Your present method of making your sermons seems very judicious. Few frequent preachers can be supposed to have sermons more their own than yours will be. Take care to register some where or other the authors from whom your several discourses are borrowed; and do not imagine that you shall always remember even what perhaps you now think it impossible to forget.

My advice, however, is, that you attempt from time to time an original sermon; and in the labour of composition, do not burden your mind with too much at once. Do not exact from yourself at one effort of

ex-

excogitation propriety of thought and elegance of expression. Invent first, and then embellish. The production of something where nothing was before, is an act of greater energy than the expansion or decoration of the thing produced. Set down diligently your thoughts as they rise in the first words that occur; and when you have matter you will easily give it form: Nor perhaps will this method be always necessary; for by habit your thoughts and diction will flow together.

The composition of sermons is not very difficult. The divisions not only help the memory of the hearer, but direct the judgment of the writer; they supply sources of invention, and keep every part in its proper place.

What I least like in your letter is your account of the manners of the parish; from which I gather, that it has been long neglected by the parson. The Dean of Carlisle, who was then a little rector in Northamptonshire, told me, that it might be discerned whether or no there was a clergyman resident in the parish, by the civil or savage manners of the people. Such a congregation as yours stands in much need of reformation; and I would not have you think it impossible to reform them. A very savage parish was civilized by a decayed gentlewoman who came among them to teach a petty school. My learned friend, Dr Wheeler of Oxford, when he was a young man, had the care of a neighbouring parish for fifteen pounds a-year, which he was never paid; but he counted it a convenience that it compelled him to make a weekly sermon. One woman he could not bring to communion; and when he reproved or exhorted her, she only answered that she was no scholar. He was advised to  
set

set some good woman or man of the parish, a little wiser than herself, to talk to her in a language level to her mind. Such honest, I may call them holy, artifices, must be practised by every clergyman; for all means must be tried by which souls may be saved. Talk to your people, however, as much as you can; and you will find that the more frequently you converse with them on religious subjects, the more willingly they will attend, and the more submissively they will learn. A clergyman's diligence always makes him venerable. I think I have now only to say, that in the momentous work that you have undertaken, I pray God to bless you. I am,

S I R,  
Your most humble servant,  
SAM. JOHNSON.

Bolt-Court, }  
Aug. 30. 1780. }

*[Of this Letter a copy is published by Stockdale; but it is not precisely what Johnson wrote. For this reason, and to make known the clergyman who was thought worthy of such attention, it is here republished from the original manuscript.]*

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NUGÆ ANAPÆSTICÆ IN LECTO CUSÆ

MEDICO ÆGRO. S.

**N**UNC mihi facilis  
Liberiori  
Cursu spiritus  
Itque reditque ;  
Nunc minus acris  
Seu thoracem  
Sive abdomen  
Laniat tussis ;  
Tantum prodest  
Tempore justo  
Secare venam,  
Tantum prodest  
Potente succo  
Dulce papaver ;  
Quid nunc superest  
Ut modo tentem  
Quantum strictam  
Mollia laxent.  
Balnea pellem.  
Cras abiturus  
Quo revocarit  
Thralia suavis.  
Hoc quoque superest

Ut tibi, gentis  
Medicæ princeps  
Habeam grates ;  
Votaque fundam  
Ne, quæ profunt.  
Omnibus, artes  
Domino defint  
Vive valeque.

*March 21. 1782*

F I N I S.



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